# THE MILES WATERMAN FAMILY

# OF NORTHEASTERN INDIANA

A Family History By
Kenneth Miles Waterman

1993

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January 4, 1995

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Re:  The Miles Waterman Family of Northeast Indiana

Dear Cousins, Sister Lynne, son Jeff, and son John:

Last month, Kay and I were in Oregon to visit our son, John, who has been working most recently at a ski resort on Mount Hood. After five semesters at Indiana University, John ventured west where he entered Oregon State University last September to study forestry.  We also drove up to Bellevue, Washington, to visit with Phyllis and Sprague.

Our oldest son, Jeff, graduated from The University of Michigan in 1991, is married to Yvette, and is now enrolled in the last semester of a two-year MBA program at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland.  He works as an intern for the accounting firm of Ernst & Young in their management consulting division.  He is not an accountant.  Yvette is employed raising funds for the University Hospital.

Kay is an elementary school teacher, and I am a lawyer in private

practice in Fort Wayne.

I recently concluded a history of the Waterman family beginning with Robert Waterman of Marshfield, Massachusetts, concluding eight generations later with Miles Waterman in northeast Indiana. His son, Miles Jefferson Waterman, was our grandfather.

I am enclosing as a gift a copy of the first edition of my history for each of you. I trust that you will enjoy reading it as I have the research and the writing. Please share this with your descendants. I plan to deposit a copy in the Allen County Public Library in Fort Wayne and the Indiana State Library at Indianapolis.

Very truly yours,

Kenneth Miles Waterman

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"This . . . is a very obvious bit of
watermanship information."

G. Swift, [English], ca 1900.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE . . . . . 4

I. ENGLAND AND THE ATLANTIC CROSSING . . . . . 7

Atlantic Crossing 7; The Name Waterman 7

II. PLYMOUTH COLONY AND THE ENGLISH PURITANS . . . . . 2

Pilgrims 2; Puritans 2; Robert Waterman 3; Colonial Governor William Bradford 4; Children of Robert and Elizabeth [Bourne] Waterman 4; Marshfield 5; Thomas Bourne 5; Winslow Burying Ground 5; The Waterman Home 6; Ships and Shipyards 7; Early English Settlement 7

III. MILITARY MEN AND FARMERS IN COLONIAL CONNECTICUT . . . . . 9

Sergeant Thomas Waterman 9; Norwich 10; Ye Green Meeting House 11; Waterman Town-Lot 12; Thos. Waterman, Innkeeper 13; Militia 14; King William's War 14; Common Burial Place 14; Children of Thomas and Miriam [Tracy] Waterman 15; Ensign Thomas Waterman, Jr. 15; Queen Anne's War 15; Children of Thomas Waterman, Jr., and Elizabeth [Allyn] Waterman 16; Ebenezer Waterman, Sr. 17; King George's War 17; Last French and Indian War 17; Children of Ebenezer and Sarah [Griswold] Waterman 18

IV. SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION . . . . . 19

Ebenezer Waterman, Jr. 19; Calvin Waterman 20; Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775 20; Norwich Militia 21; Siege of Boston 21; American Continental Army 22; George Washington 22; Battle of Bunker Hill 23; Waterman's Point 23; 1776 24; Battle of Long Island 25; Tall Ships and The British Army 25; Long Island on the Night of August 26, 1776 25; British Prison Ship Jersey 28; Luther Waterman 29

V. CROSSING THE HUDSON RIVER AND WEST . . . . . 31

Norwich Town 31; Pittsfield, Massachusetts 32; Children of Ebenezer Waterman, Jr., and Sybil (Clark) Waterman 33; Hudson River Valley 33; Mohawk River Gap and West 34

VI. NEW YORK SETTLERS . . . . . 36

Scipio, New York 36; Camillus, New York 37

VII. WAR OF 1812 . . . . . 38

Elijah Waterman 38; War of 1812 38; Methodists 42; Frontier Religious Thought 43; Warner's Cemetary 45; Children of Calvin and Nancy [Remington] Waterman 45

VIII. THE ERIE CANAL AND LAKE ERIE SAILING BOATS . . . . . 47

Erie Canal 47; The Lure of the West 49; Panic of 1837 50; Routes West 50; Lake Erie Sailing Boats 52; Maumee River 53

IX. INDIANA PIONEERS . . . . . 54

Settlement of Indiana 54; Steuben County and DeKalb County 54; Pottawatomie 55; Migration West of Other Family Members 55; Letters from Eleazar Waterman 56; Writing Style 60; Letters from Ohniel Waterman 63; Hamilton Cemetery 69; Children of Elijah and Sarah [Lindsay] Waterman 69; Miles Waterman 70; Waterloo, Indiana 73; Place Names 74; Political Office 75; Purdue University 76

X. THE CIVIL WAR POLITICIAN . . . . . 79

Politics and the American Civil War 79; 1860 Presidential Election 80; 1863 Indiana General Assembly 81; Struggle Over the Nature of the Union

82; Political Beliefs of Miles Waterman 84; Political Issues During the Civil War 85; Wartime Constitutional Rights 88

XI. A CIVIL WAR SOLDIER'S ODYSSEY . . . . . 92

Frederick C. Waterman 92; Coming Hostilities 93; Abraham Lincoln 94; Second Wisconsin Volunteers 94; Bull Run 95; Iron Brigade 96; Fredericksburg 96; Belle Plain 99; Chancellorsville 100; Gettysburg 104; Volunteer Re-Enlistment 105; Appomattox Court House 106; Drums & Fifes 108

XII. OUT IN THE POLITICAL COLD . . . . . 109

Governor Oliver P. Morton 109; The Union Preserved 109; Thomas A. Hendricks 110; Children of Miles and Susan [Beard] Waterman 111

EPILOGUE . . . . . 113

APPENDIX A . . . . . 114

APPENDIX B . . . . . 119

APPENDIX C . . . . . 123

NOTES . . . . . 135

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 153

PREFACE

"The search for roots is, nowadays, largely the concern of ordinary people who are discovering the identities and life experiences of their undistinguished forebears."[1]

Our story begins in a wilderness in colonial New England in the early part of the seventeenth century. It is a story of the first eight generations in America beginning with the family of Robert Waterman and Elizabeth Bourne who were married in 1638 in Plymouth Colony and, in each succeeding generation, the families of Thomas Waterman and Miriam Tracy, Thomas Waterman, Jr., and Elizabeth Allyn, Ebenezer Waterman and Sarah Griswold, Ebenezer Waterman, Jr., and Sybil Clark, Calvin Waterman and Nancy Remington, Elijah Waterman and Sarah Lindsay, and Miles Waterman and Susan Beard.

I write to convey to my children in the twelfth generation Jeffrey Miles Waterman (12) and John Robert Waterman (12) and others the American historical experience that shaped the perspective of our ancestors and which may still be influencing our generations. I also wish to present a summary of family letters, documents, and information that I have compiled.

The first six generations have been chronicled in the definitive work of Donald Lines Jacobus, Descendants of Robert Waterman of Marshfield, Massachusetts, Through Six Generations, Volume I, published in 1939. Most of the genealogical data, such

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[1] David Hey. The Oxford Guide to Family History. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993. p. 15.

as names, births, marriages, children, occupations, public offices, and the like are found in his work. Jacobus was a professional genealogist, who in his time was considered the dean of American genealogists. Genealogical data has been added by me in small part. Endeavoring to portray their customs, thoughts, lifestyle, and circumstances, I have also included historical, religious, and social commentary, along with historic events, that seem to have influenced our ancestors.

A collection of about 170 family letters and other documents contained in a small tin box, entrusted to me in about 1955 by my uncle Otto Leas Waterman [10] and my father Jefferson Wayne Waterman [10] provides the basis for my story with respect to Calvin Waterman [6] and his descendants Elijah Waterman [7] and Miles Waterman [8].

Direct evidence supporting some of the conclusions made by me has not been found and may no longer exist. However, in the absence of direct evidence and where circumstantial information has been found, I have sought to draw conclusions when such evidence is so compelling as to lead a reasonable man or woman to the same result. Where I have speculated, I usually have alluded to it as such.

In 1836 at Buffalo, New York, Oliver G. Steele, writing in the grammatical third person in the Preface to his Western Guide Book, refers to a few aspirations and limitations of a publisher and author:

> In his descriptions he aims at entire accuracy, but to this point he can never expect to arrive: he may in some instances borrow from erroneous data-books as well as men are fallible; he may, perchance, resort to books that may mislead him; he trusts, however, that such instances will be rare, and that his labor in this undertaking will not have been altogether in vain.

Kenneth Miles Waterman (11)
Fort Wayne, Indiana
November, 1993.

# I. ENGLAND AND THE ATLANTIC CROSSING

Nyghtly one the wale thay wye vp thaie ankers,
BY wytt of the watyre-mene of the wale ythez.

Morte Arthur, ca 1400.[1]

Atlantic Crossing. Robert Waterman left England, the country of his birth, for the New World arriving in Plymouth in about 1635. He settled in Marshfield, Plymouth Colony, "att or neare" Massachusetts Bay.[2]

The Name Waterman. During the 1500s, several thousand men earned a living on the River Thames in England. Parliament in 1514 passed laws regulating fares on the river and established a one-year apprenticeship program for boys. The process of using family names or surnames was completed by the 1550s.[3] By the 1700s, the "Watermen's Company," a guild of passenger carriers on the River, was joined by "lightermen," or goods carriers. To this day, "The Company of Watermen and Lightermen of the River Thames" enrolls apprentices who, after serving as apprentices for a period of time and if found worthy, become Freemen of the Company.

The occupation of those who plied the rivers of England in the middle ages carrying passengers is the likely source of the surname Waterman.

## II. PLYMOUTH COLONY AND THE ENGLISH PURITANS

. . . the wether is so hott, the flie so
busie, & the woods so thick, . . .

Edward Winslow, July 7, 1640.[1]

Pilgrims. In 1620, the Mayflower Pilgrims, separatists from the Church of England, settled in New England and established Plymouth Colony. There were earlier Europeans and others in America; theirs was the first settlement to last.

The Puritans. In the 1630s, the Puritans emigrated to New England. Robert Waterman was a Puritan. Puritanism started as an agitation within the Church of England. Initially, in England, there was little difference between the Puritans within the Church and the Anglicans. The latter, unlike the Puritans, felt that, following the break with Rome in the 1530s, the reforms within the Church had gone far enough. Nevertheless, the small differences that set the Puritan apart eventually caused him to pull up stakes in the England he loved and migrate across the wide Atlantic west to a wilderness.[2]

The life and society of a Puritan in the New World was essentially the product of a background of English life rather than an individual belief or particular creed of Puritanism. They drank alcoholic beverages; although they were against excessive drinking. They wore clothes of many colors, not just black. Puritans for the most part had the same intellectual life, moral views, manners, and prejudices as any Englishman of

that day. They considered themselves to be Englishmen, loyal to English institutions. They hated Spain and France.

Puritans considered religion an intellectual affair. Religion, they thought, was primary in the life of man. Man was sinful, but liberated by Christ. God directed the physical universe. Puritans were Protestant, just as Anglicans, believing that man was saved by faith alone and not by good works, that the gospel words, not church traditions, should prevail, and that the Church of England, not Rome, was the true church.[3]

> The leaders of the Puritan movement were trained at the universities [in England], they were men of learning and scholars; no less than the Anglicans did they demand that religion be interpreted by study and logical exposition; they were both resolute against all pretenses to immediate revelation, against all ignorant men who claimed to receive personal instructions from God.[4]

Back in England in 1643, Oliver Cromwell's Puritans demolished Shakespeare's second Globe Theater; intolerance was a usual trait of the early Puritans.

Robert and Elizabeth Waterman were Puritans as were the next four or five generations of their descendants. Some perhaps were Puritans in name only; others eventually developed their religious perspective within a tradition of freedom.

Robert Waterman [1].[5] Robert's father may have been named Thomas Waterman, and he may have lived in a town in England called Norwich.[6] Robert was married at Marshfield in Plymouth Colony on December 9, 1638, to Elizabeth Bourne, daughter of

Thomas Bourne, an original Marshfield settler of community standing.[8]

Colonial Governor William Bradford. With this marriage, Robert became a brother-in-law of John Bradford, a resident of Marshfield and the oldest son of the first Plymouth Colony Governor, William Bradford, and also a brother-in-law of John Winslow, a brother of Governor Edward Winslow, the third signer of the Mayflower Compact, a Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, and a resident of Marshfield from 1637 to 1655 the year of his death.[9] William Bradford (1590-1657) was a longtime governor of Plymouth Colony. He is considered the most distinguished historian of early America due in large part to his narrative Of Plymouth Plantation first published in 1656. Bradford came over with the Mayflower Pilgrims.

Robert died early, under the age of 40 years. The date of his death was December 9, 1652. Elizabeth married a second time to Thomas Tilden. She was buried at Marshfield on December 12, 1663.[10]

Children of Robert and Elizabeth [Bourne] Waterman. The children of Robert and Elizabeth (Bourne) Waterman, born at Marshfield were:

[1] John, born April 19, 1642, died September 14, 1718.

[2] Thomas, born November 30, 1644, died June 19, 1708.

[3] Joseph, born about 1649, died January 1, 1712.

[4] Robert, born about 1652, died May 18, 1741.[11]

Marshfield. Marshfield is located on Massachusetts Bay about 15 miles north of Plymouth and about 30 miles south of Boston in what was Plymouth Colony and is now the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.[12] The First [Congregational] Church was "gathered" there in 1632. According to the records of the First Church in Plymouth, it was "the second church of God that issued out of the church of Plymouth." Its first building was erected in 1641.[13] The church was the only local government until 1739, and then town meetings were held in churches until a "Town House" was built in 1838.[14] A new church was built in 1657 near the present site of the First Church that is located about one and one-half miles west of the Pilgrim Trail on Ocean Street.[15]

Thomas Bourne. The land grant, received by Thomas Bourne in 1637, is located near the middle of Marshfield in an area known as Marshfield Neck that is a narrow piece of land south of the southern bend of the South River and north of the north bend of Green's Harbor River. Near the center of Marshfield Neck is the intersection of the north-south Pilgrim Trail and east-west Ocean Street.[16]

> [Thomas Bourne] was the eldest of the Marshfield settlers and a patriarch on its Eden. * * * He and his wife Elizabeth were past life's meridian when we find them at Green Harbor [later Roxham, still later Marshfield]. He d[ied] 1664, aged 83.[17]

Winslow Burying Ground. About a mile southwest of the Bourne Grant is the Winslow Burying Ground at the north end of the Winslow Cemetery Road. A stone monument in the Winslow

Cemetery lists Robert Waterman as one of the original settlers of Marshfield.[18] Incorporated in 1640, Marshfield was the eighth town so established in Plymouth Colony, the "Old Colony."[19] The North River forms the northerly boundary of the town and Green Harbor, or Green's Harbor, on the Bay marks the southeast corner. At the southwesterly corner is a small river named the Bourne Wharf River.[20]

> [Robert Waterman owned] a certaine psell [parcel] of land of about five [five] and twenty acres, more or less, lying and being att or neare the [old] mouth of the North River, in Marshfield aforesaid, whereon the said Robert Waterman lived [lived], and whereof he died seized and possessed, whereby the said land decended vnto his said heire.[21]

The "old mouth" of the North River was located on Massachusetts Bay on a narrow coastal strand, where the town line between Marshfield on the south and the town of Scituate on the north is located.[22]

The Waterman Home. The Waterman home was probably located on the strand just south of the "old mouth" of the North River in Marshfield and north of the north end of the Winslow Road.[23] Robert's neighbors included his father-in-law, Thomas Bourne, Kenelme Winslow, Josiah Winslow (later Governor of Plymouth Colony), and Joseph Beadle, each of whom served at one time or another with Robert on town governing committees.[24]

Given the location of his home "att or neare" the mouth of the North River that emptied into Massachusetts Bay, Robert may have plied the waters for hire. In 1640, Robert took five cows by water for Edward Winslow of Plymouth to John Winthrop [1588-

1649] of Massachusetts Bay Colony to satisfy a debt that Winslow owed. The cows were transported by water "because the wether was so hott, the flie so busie, & the woods so thick, . . ."[25] In 1644, Robert was involved in a lawsuit over a "cannow" [canoe?]. In 1668, his son, John, was referred to as a "ship carpenter" in Marshfield.[26]

Ships and Shipyards. From 1645 to 1871, many shipyards were located on the North River, and many ships were launched there. Many seafaring men from Marshfield served as captain of these ships, and many more were crew members.[27] The North River became known as the "Mother of a Thousand Ships."[28]

Robert was a member of the Marshfield militia. In 1645, he was one of twelve men in Marshfield to establish a public school.[29] Marshfield had the first movement toward a public school in either the Massachusetts Bay or Plymouth colonies.[30]

Early English Settlement. The English first settled along the Atlantic shore from Massachusetts Bay Colony and Plymouth Colony south to Virginia. They knew little about the New World beyond the Atlantic seaboard.[31] Before moving inland, they settled along inlets and rivers such as the Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island and the Thames River, the Connecticut River, and the Hudson River. The advance of settlers inland was not on a broad front, but rather a penetration of a dense, almost impenetrable wilderness along the rivers. The woods were "thick." Travel overland was hazardous, slow, and inconvenient. There were no roads. At best, there were Indian paths or trails. A waterway

was a relatively safe, swift, and convenient passage. As the English journeyed inland, they confronted native American Indians and French traders.[32] Waterways played a significant role in these early settlement and the migration west.

## III. MILITARY MEN AND FARMERS IN COLONIAL CONNECTICUT

We are all military Men, as well as Farmers, . . .

Rev. Jared Eliot, 1759.[1]

Sergeant Thomas Waterman [2]. Thomas Waterman, born at Marshfield on November 30, 1644, was the second of four sons born to Robert and Elizabeth. He was eight years old when his father Robert died.[2]

Thomas left Plymouth Colony in 1659 when he was 14 years of age and accompanied John Bradford, a Mayflower descendant, his mother's sister, Martha Bourne Bradford, and others to a new settlement on the Thames River in the Connecticut Valley.[3] This removal may have been compelled by religious issues or economic opportunity or both.[4] Thomas likely traveled by water from Marshfield around Cape Cod and Rhode Island to Long Island Sound and the mouth of the Thames River in the southeast corner of Connecticut to a place now known as New London. His party would have then traveled north up the Thames about 19 miles to its head, and proceeded from there northwesterly up the Yantic River about two miles to a landing place on its northeast bank. This original settlement was known as Norwich and consisted of "35 men" and their families. John Bradford and Thomas Waterman were listed as original proprietors.[5]

Thomas remained in the Bradford household during his formative years until he married Miriam Tracy,[6] daughter of Lieutenant Thomas Tracy, at Norwich in November, 1668.[7]

Norwich. Norwich, steeped in the rich lore of her history, is where the mind's eye may yet discern vestiges of Puritan piety, colonial homes, a New England village green and towered-white church, Uncas the Sachem of the Mohegans, seafaring men, innkeepers, silversmiths and clock-makers, ships and wharves, a West Indies and coastal trade, Revolutionary War generals, and mills and manufacture.

On June 6, 1659, Uncas, a Sachem or chief, of the Mohegan Indians sold the land that became Norwich to the settlers for seventy English pounds, apparently as a result of fair negotiations.[8] John Bradford and Thomas Waterman were listed as original town proprietors having town-lots and all the privileges of first proprietors. It was unusual for a minor, as Thomas was, to own a town-lot.[9]

Norwich became a typical New England village. A winding road was first laid out along the northwesterly course of the meandering Yantic River on its northeast bank. This relatively broad road became known as Town Street, on each side of which were arranged the town-lots.

Ye Green. The settlement in time centered around "ye Green."

> This centre of the town plot in Norwich was called "ye Green," "ye Meeting-House Green," and later "the Parade," "the Training Field," or "the Plain."[10]

The Green was formed as an irregular triangle, and as time passed was surrounded by white wood structures, including a white wood-frame church with a tower, an inn for wayfarers, artisan shops,

and homes. At one time or another, a sign-post for public notices, tall shade trees, a whipping-post, and a pillory were located there.[11] The first militia, or train-band, assembled there in 1666, and Thomas, at 21 years of age, probably took part in that martial assembly.[12] In 1729, the town voted "that the Plain in the Town Platt, called the Meeting House plain, with all its contents and extents of it as it now lyeth, shall be and remain to be and lye common for public use for the whole town forever without alteration."[13] Town Street runs northwesterly along the Green's southerly base; the other two, longer sides complete the triangle with its northerly apex leaning somewhat to the northeast. East Town Street is on the west side of the Green; Elm Avenue is on the east side.[14]

Meeting House.[15] The west end of Town Street ends at a T-intersection where the First [Congregational] Church of Norwich is located on the west side of East Town Street. Generations of Watermans were members of the First Church of Norwich. This meeting house is situated west of the southwest corner of the Green. The meeting house faces in a southeasterly direction down Town Street. West and to the left beyond the Green, West Town Street continues as an extension of Town Street northwesterly along the Yantic River. East Town Street to the right of the T-intersection returns northeasterly.[16]

Today, the church structure is the fifth meeting house erected there. Built in 1801, and remodeled in 1845, it is a white, wood, rectangular building, two and a half stories high.

A two-story portico is projected in front, above which rises a two-story square tower. On top of the tower is an ornate black, wrought-iron weather vane. Quoins adorn the building's corners. In the front on the second story are two square-headed windows and three round-top windows which provide an unusual arrangement.[17]

In 1692, five women and a clergyman were executed in Salem, Massachusetts Bay Colony, after being accused of witchcraft. In the early 1720s in a lesser display of Puritan intolerance, the Reverend Benjamin Lord, the Norwich town minister, and his deacons persuaded the town magistrate to refuse Quakers the right to pass through Norwich on Sunday.[18]

Waterman Town-Lot. There were two original town-lots in the block southwest of the Green. Across from the southeast corner of the Green on Town Street was the home-lot of Major John Mason "consisting of eight acres more or less." Major John Mason had commanded the military forces in the Pequot War in 1637.[19] To the west the next home-lot, about seven acres in size, was that of Thomas Waterman. Behind each of these town-lots, the Yantic River flowed from the northwest.[20]

> The Waterman house-lot was next to that of Major Mason, and the dwelling-house was built at a slight turn of the town street, . . .
>
> It [the Waterman dwelling-house] projected awkwardly into the highway, which now passes over a part of the site. The old well that stood by the house, is under the street.[21]

In 1669, the town "Granted to Sergent Thomas Waterman liberty to lay down twenty acres of upland over Showtucket river [located on the west side of Norwich], and take it up again on the same side of the river, against Potapaug hills, adjoining to some other lands he is to take up, . . ."[22] This may have been land that he farmed outside of the town.

> Eleazer Jewett, Dec. 5, 1698, purchased of Messrs. Waterman and Bushnell, agents of the town, 75 acres of land near the Shetucket river.[23]

> . . . Richard Bushnell was one of the most noted and active men in Norwich. After arriving at a man's estate, we find him taking a prominent part in almost every enterprise that was set on foot in the place.[24]

Thos. Waterman, Innkeeper. On December 11, 1679, the town voted that "Sergent Thomas Waterman is desired to keep the ordinary," or inn for wayfarers or travelers.[25]

> Innkeepers were considered as town officers. The appointment was one of honor and respectability, and to obtain a license to keep a House of Entertainment, a man must be of good report and possessed of a comfortable estate. The first of whom we have any notice was Thomas Waterman.[26]

Thomas's inn was located on or near his original town-lot at the south corner of Town Street and West Town Street, south of the Green and southeast of the Meeting House. The present-day address is 100 Town Street.[27] In 1967, a brick building on the corner site was being used as a home for the aged. A wood marker near the northwest corner of the front of the building identifies the site as being the original home-lot of Thomas Waterman.[28]

Militia. Thomas was also a member of the Norwich militia company, or trainband. A "trainband" was a military unit which trained periodically. Most colonial men were farmers and military men. They routinely lived in town at night for safety, and during the day they farmed in the countryside surrounding the town. To live in New England in those times was to live in constant expectation of an Indian attack.[29]

King William's War. From 1688 to 1697, New Englanders fought the French and the Indians in King William's War. In 1689, the King's men were in Norwich recruiting.[30] In 1690, the General Assembly of Connecticut appointed "James Morgan, capt.; Ephraim Palmer, Int; Tho. Waterman, ensign for New London County," to "a flyeing army of dragoones." New London County is located south of Norwich and straddles the mouth of the Thames River on Long Island Sound.[31]

Common Burial Place. The town established "a common burial place." Sgt Thomas Waterman (2) and his son, Ensign Thomas Waterman (3), are buried there.[32] The cemetery lays east of the Green beyond the houses on Elm Avenue. The entrance to the cemetery from the south is located on the north side of Town Street just east of Elm Avenue, next to and running behind the Diah Manning House at 85 Town Street. The cemetery may also be reached through its north gates at 40 East Town Street.[33] Thomas died in Norwich on June 19, 1708. A grave stone, extant in the Norwich Town Cemetery, bears the inscription:

SERt
THOMAS

WATERMAN
DECd IVNE 1st
1708 AGED 64 YE[__][34]

Miriam, his wife, also died at Norwich.

Children of Thomas and Miriam [Tracy] Waterman. The children of Thomas Waterman and Miriam [Tracy] Waterman born at Norwich are:

[1] Thomas, b. Sept. 1670; d. 31 Dec. 1755.

[2] John, b. Mar. 1672; d. in 1744.

[3] Elizabeth, b. Aug. 1675; d. 24 or 25 June 1751.

[4] Miriam, b. Apr. 1678; d. 22 Sept. 1760, unm.

[5] Martha, b. 6 Dec. 1680; d. Nov. 1753.

[6] Lydia, b. Aug. 1683; d. 22 Dec. 1738.

[7] Joseph, b. 15 Jan. 1685/6; d. 28 Oct. 1778.

[8] Ann, b. Apr. 1689; d. 21 Dec. 1752.[35]

Ensign Thomas Waterman, Jr. [3]. Thomas Waterman, Jr., eldest son of Thomas, Sr., was born at Norwich in September, 1670. He was married to Elizabeth Allyn,[36] who was born at Norwich on December 24, 1669.[37]

Thomas, Jr., was active in town affairs serving as constable, fence viewer, townsman, surveyor of highways, sergeant, ensign, and collector of taxes. He was a farmer, as were most of the town's inhabitants at that time.

Queen Anne's War. From 1703 to 1713, New Englanders again fought the French and Indians in Queen Anne's War.

By the early 1720s, Norwich became the second-largest town in New England.[38] In 1726, two men arrived in Norwich who became



the first inhabitants to identify themselves with the Church of

England.

> The town-house [built in 1734] was at the south-west corner of the Green, with whipping post and pillory near.[39]

In 1746, the first Episcopal church structure was built in Norwich.[40]

Nine children were born to Thomas and Elizabeth. Elizabeth died at Norwich on March 15, 1755. Thomas died there on December 13 of the same year.[41]

Their gravestones are still in the old burying ground at Norwich Town. They read:

> Here Lies The Body
> Of Ensign Thomas
> Waterman Who
> Departed This Life
> In Hope Of An Hap
> py Immortality
> December 13th 1755
> In The 86th Year
> Of His Age.

> Here Lies The Body Of
> Mrs. Elizabeth Waterman
> Wife Of Ensign Thomas
> Waterman Who Died
> March 15, 1755 In
> The 86th Year Of
> Her Age.[42]

Children of Thomas Waterman, Jr., and Elizabeth [Allyn] Waterman. The children of Thomas and Elizabeth Waterman, born at Norwich, Connecticut, and baptized at First Church of Norwich, are:

[1] Thomas, b. 25 Apr. 1692; d. after 1737.

[2] John, b. 16 Apr. 1694; d. between 1740 and 1743.

[3] Elizabeth, b. 13 Aug. 1696; d. perhaps in 1773.[43]

[4] Ebenezer, b. 20 Feb. 1698/9; d. 12 Mar. 1782.

[5] Daniel, b. 2, bapt. 5, Oct 1701; d. 7 Mar. 1773.

[6] Elisha, b. 4, bapt. 30, July 1704; d. 13 Feb. 1771.

[7] Asa, b. 15 Nov., bapt. 22 Dec. 1706; d. 14 Nov. 1783.

[8] Nehemiah, b. 5, bapt. 7, Aug. 1709; d. 27 Oct. 1796.

[9] Sarah, b. 9, bapt. 16, Mar. 1711/12; d. 16 Jan. 1795.[44]

Ebenezer Waterman, Sr. [4]. Ebenezer Waterman, Sr., the fourth child of Thomas and Elizabeth [Allyn] Waterman married at Norwich on December 9, 1721, Sarah Griswold,[45] who was born at Norwich on January 1, 1701. As was his father, Ebenezer was a farmer.[46]

King George's War. In 1715 and 1740, the King's recruiters were back in Norwich seeking recruits to fight the Spanish in the Caribbean.[47] From 1744 to 1748, New Englanders participated in King George's War, the third French and Indian war fought on American soil.

The Last French and Indian War. As a result of the defeat of the French by the British at the battle on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec city in 1759, the French abandoned Fort Ticonderoga located on Lake George in New York State to the British. The fourth and last French and Indian War continued from 1755 to 1763, and resulted in the termination of the French occupation of Canada.

Ebenezer lived at Norwich West Farms, or West Society, now Franklin, Connecticut, and there he owned land with a dwelling house.

Children of Ebenezer and Sarah [Griswold] Waterman. The children of Ebenezer and Sarah [Griswold] Waterman born at Norwich, baptized at West Farms (Franklin) Church, are:

[1] Susanna, b. 19 Nov. 1722; d. 5 Dec. 1764.

[2] Betty, b. 3 Nov. 1724.

[3] Sarah, b. 23 Jan. 1726/7.

[4] Ezekiel, b. 15 Mar. 1729; d. 24 Feb. 1808.

[5] Ebenezer, b. 1 May 1732; d. 3 Aug. 1733.

[6] Ebenezer, b. 10 Mar. 1733/4, bapt. 28 Apr. 1734; d. after 1800.

[7] Flavius, b. 17 Aug. 1736, bapt. 22 Aug. 1736; d. 3 July 1778.

[8] Adonijah, b. 12 Mar. 1738/9, bapt. 25 Mar. 1739; d. 24 June 1806.

[9] Miriam, b. 14 Apr. 1741, bapt. 31 May 1741; d. 24 Dec. 1833.[48]

## IV. SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Listen, my children, and you will hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere
On the eighteenth of April, in seventy-five;
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.

-Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1863.

Ebenezer Waterman, Jr. [5]. Ebenezer Waterman, Jr., was born in Norwich, Connecticut, on March 10, 1733/4, and baptized April 28, 1734. He married Sybil Clark,[1] who was born on June 3, 1734, at Lebanon, Connecticut.[2] Sybil was the daughter of Benoni and Hannah [Root] Clark. Ebenezer and Sybil had seven children. The family attended the [Congregational] Meeting House in West Society, later renamed Franklin, Connecticut. West Society was adjacent to Norwich on the west side.

Ebenezer had an older brother also named Ebenezer born May 1, 1732, who died fifteen months after his birth on August 3, 1733.[3] In Braintree, now Quincy, Massachusetts, on October 30, 1735, John Adams was born to a farmer who had once been a shoemaker.[4] In 1774, Ebenezer was charged in a civil court "for profaning the Sabbath in the gallery of the meeting house in West Society, by talking in the time of divine service in a merry manner to make sport." He pleaded guilty to the charge and was fined 10 shillings.[5] Perhaps, the strictures of the Puritan church were starting to unravel. Or, was it a time of revolution?

Calvin Waterman [6]. Calvin, the first born son of Ebenezer, Jr., was born at Norwich, Connecticut, on January 17, 1755.[6]

The Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775. In the evening darkness of April 18, 1775, a British Army unit marched quietly out of Boston, Massachusetts, in a northwesterly direction along the Concord Turnpike intent on seizing and destroying caches of arms that American farmers had gathered. First, it marched to Lexington where on April 19 the "shot was fired heard round the world." It continued in a northwesterly direction beyond Lexington to Concord. The American Revolutionary War had started. The American Rebels ran the Redcoats back to Boston, according to the Americans. The British mentioned that it was not a well-organized withdrawal.[7]

At ten o'clock in the morning of April 19, Israel Bissel, postrider, mounted his horse near Lexington with a letter in his pocket charging him to alarm the country to the south. At noon Bissel's horse fell dead at Worcester after traveling 36 miles.[8] Nathan Balding, the town-clerk, took a copy of the dispatch and forwarded it to Daniel Tyler, Jr., of Brooklyn, Connecticut, who in turn sent it by a postrider to Norwich. It arrived on the afternoon of April 20.[9] The distance from Lexington to Norwich was 90 miles. Israel Bissel had not stopped; he continued to Israel Putnam's farm at Pomfret, and he went on to alert Connecticut, his initial charge. He was in New Haven by evening of the next day, and was in New York on April 23, where his

message caused demonstrations in support of the siege at Boston. Still he did not stop even to witness the revelry, but persisted southward through New Jersey to New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and Philadelphia. What a ride! From there, other relays of express riders took the alarm as far south as Charleston, South Carolina.[10]

Norwich Militia. The Norwich Militia, including Calvin, mustered for duty on April 20 and marched in response to the alarm.[11] Hearing that the skirmishes were over, the company turned back to Norwich. Colonel Jedediah Huntington commanded the Norwich Militia with John Perkins listed as the Captain. Jabiz Fitch, Jr., of Norwich was listed along with Calvin as a private.[12]

The Siege of Boston. Following the Lexington Alarm, men from all over New England began to converge and surround Boston so that it lay under siege.[13] The Americans had encircled Boston causing the British Army to be confined in an unfavorable military position.

On May 5, 1775, 15 days after the Alarm, Calvin, at 20 years of age, enlisted in the 7th Company commanded by Captain Edward Mott of nearby Preston, Connecticut.[14] This company, the second to leave from Norwich, was raised and drilled on the Norwich Green. It then marched for Boston, and was attached to Connecticut's Sixth Regiment commanded by Colonel Samuel Holden Parsons of New London, Connecticut.[15]

Ebenezer Waterman, Jr., age 40 years, also responded to the first call for troops and enlisted on May 8, 1775, 18 days after the Lexington Alarm. He became a Private in Captain John Durkee's Company, later the 3d Company of Connecticut's Third Regiment under the command of Colonel Israel Putnam. This regiment marched to Boston. Captain Durkee was from Norwich.[16]

During the siege of Boston by the Americans, General Putnam, known affectionately by his men as "Old Put," commanded the center division at Cambridge. Putnam, at the time of the Lexington Alarm, had retired to his Connecticut farm, north of Norwich, after many years of distinguished military service during the French and Indian Wars.

American Continental Army. Initially, enlistments were to the militia of the respective New England towns and colonies. There were no continental armed forces. Just before the Battle of Bunker Hill, the Continental Congress authorized enlistments to the "American Continental Army" and adopted the colonial militia as Continental. The soldiers of the Continental Army were "regulars." Other troops were to act as reinforcement or reserves for the Continental Army.

George Washington. On June 15, 1775, the Continental Congress appointed George Washington as the general "to command all the continental forces."[17] In late June, Washington on his way to the Boston area passed through Norwich and spent the night on the Landing near Waterman's Point. He probably came up the

Thames River in a packet boat with his entourage.[18] By this time, Norwich was one of the twelve largest towns in America.[19]

Battle of Bunker Hill. At the Battle of Bunker Hill, near Boston, on June 17, 1775, General Putnam, now of the Continental Army, was the senior officer present and in command. Ebenezer's company was at Bunker Hill. Bunker Hill may have been an American defeat, but the British were still surrounded in Boston.

Waterman's Point. In the summer of 1775, due to an alarm of an invasion of British vessels prowling along Long Island Sound, Captain Ephraim Lion's company was detached from Boston to Norwich where a battery or redoubt was built below the Landing on Waterman's Point located on the west bank of the Thames River, about a mile south of the West Side Bridge.[20] A "redoubt" was a temporary outlying fortification used to secure hill tops, passes, or, as in this instance, a point on a navigable river to prevent incursions. This battery was to protect Norwich and other towns from incursions by British ships up the wide Thames River which was navigable as far north as Norwich. Perhaps, it was Washington who recognized the military necessity of building a redoubt at Norwich.

Early in the War, enlistments were for about one year each. Soldiers routinely went home for the winter months. Calvin was discharged to go home on November 13. Ebenezer remained stationed at Cambridge until he was discharged on December 10. Each was discharged at virtually the same time as all the men in their respective units. Beginning in 1777 and again in 1780,

enlistments were usually for three years or for the war's duration.

1776. In an affidavit made in 1818 for a pension or Bounty Land Warrant, Calvin stated he had enlisted January 1, 1776, for one year with Captain Jonathan Brewster's Company of Colonel Jedediah Huntington's regiment. Colonel Huntington was also from Norwich.[21]

No military record appears for Ebenezer in 1776. Yet this does not mean that he was not in the military service somewhere. Given his penchant for military service, he may have been in the company of the Veteran Guards for home service of the defense of Connecticut should it have been invaded.[22]

On May 5, 1777, Ebenezer enlisted for the duration of the war in the Company of Captain Christopher Ely of Lyme, Connecticut.[23] Almost three war-years later, on October 25, 1780, he was transferred to the Corps of Invalids established by the Continental Congress and consisting of partially disabled soldiers organized into eight companies.[24] The mission of the Corps was "to be employed in Garrison, and for guards in cities or other places where magazines or arsenals or hospitals are placed. . . ." This Corps existed from 1777 until the end of the war in 1783.

Every year during the war, Norwich appointed persons to provide for the soldiers and their families at town expense. In 1783, the town appointed a person to provide for the families of soldiers in the army, which included the family of Ebenezer

Waterman.[25] Virtually everyone in Norwich involved in the war's effort at one time or another needed this community assistance in one form or another.[26] Ebenezer was discharged with his unit at the war's end on April 23, 1783.[27]

After the British Army evacuated Boston by sea on March 17, 1776, Calvin's regiment marched under Washington by way of New London and then by water in schooners to New York City.[28] On his way to New London, Washington again passed through Norwich where he met with Governor Trumbull at Colonel Huntington's residence.[29] On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was published by Congress.

Battle of Long Island. Ordered to the Brooklyn, New York, front on August 24, 1776, the regiment prepared to engage the British.

Tall Ships and The British Army. Assembling on Staton Island across from The Narrows and in the waters south of Long Island was "the greatest expeditionary force Great Britain ever sent out from its shores." It included an army of 32,000 men, trained, disciplined, professional soldiers fully equipped, supported by "a fleet of ten ships of the line, twenty frigates armed with 1,200 guns, and hundreds of transports manned by 10,000 seaman."[30] When the fleet was at anchor and its sails struck, the bare masts had the appearance of a "wood of pine trees trimmed."[31]

Long Island on the Night of August 26, 1776. The American line on the night of August 26, 1776, was in the northwest part

of Long Island. From The Narrows at the western edge of Long Island at Gowanus Bay, the line meandered along a ridge of hills in a northeasterly direction through Flatbush Pass and Bedford Pass, with unguarded intervals, to Jamaica Pass, a distance of more than six miles. To the south on the plain below lay the British Army. It had made an amphibious landing at Jamaica Bay south of Jamaica Pass, with well-trained, disciplined, and experienced soldiers, vastly outnumbering the Americans, ready to fall with "a sudden and violent shock" upon the American troops, who were untrained, undisciplined, poorly armed, and amateurs lead by amateur officers.[32]

> . . . Huntington's Connecticut Continental's [was] under [the command of] Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, Huntington himself being elsewhere and sick. . . .
>
> . . . the soldiers on either side stood face to face, . . .

Huntington's battalion was posted toward the American left on a hill on the west section of Greenwood Cemetery, now known as Battle Hill.

> Huntington's men opened them, and a second time compelled their retreat.[33]

After repelling two attacks, Huntington's men were surrounded and, on the third attack, were taken prisoner by the British and their Hessian allies. The British forces led by Sir William Howe had defeated General George Washington's Continental Army in the Battle of Long Island. Captain Brewster and most of the survivors of his company, including Calvin, were taken prisoner on August 27, 1776.[34]

The Battle of Long Island, as the first in which the American and British forces met in the open field in formal battle array, was of very great importance as an indication of what was to be expected in such encounters thereafter. The disastrous defeat of the Americans boded ill for their future.[35]

Jabez Fitch, Jr., of Norwich, who had marched as a Private with Calvin in answer to the Lexington Alarm was by then a First Lieutenant in Colonel Huntington's Regiment. He too was captured on August 27. While in captivity, Fitch recorded his observations, which were edited and published in 1911.[36]

Two days after being captured, according to Fitch, the officers and enlisted men were transported by the British by boats with their hands tied behind each of them to the British ship Pacific, a large transport ship, where they were "driven down the hatches" to the lower decks. On August 31, the names of the prisoners were recorded by the British Commissary of Prisoners.[37] The British confined and maltreated the men, but the American officers were kept under better circumstances in New York City. On November 20 the officers were set at liberty "on parole," and were allowed to walk about after giving their "word of honor" not to leave.

Many of the men were "destitute of Clothes, several had no Britches, Stockings, or Shoes, and many were stripped entirely naked."[38] Corporal Nathan Raymond of Calvin's company was stripped and shamefully abused by British General Dehightler. Samuel Tallman [Talman], a Private in Calvin's company and an American Indian, was ". . . Stripped and set up as a mark for

them [the British] to Shoot at for Diversion or Practice by which he Received two severe wounds, in the neck and arm, . . ."[39] On November 20, the American officers, including Fitch, visited the men, whose "appearance in general Rather Resembled dead Corpses than living men."[40] The most feeble were removed to the Quaker meeting house on Queen Street in New York City.

British Prison Ship Jersey. The most notorious British Prison Ship was the Jersey. The atrocities committed on board this ship were legend. On what apparently was the only extant list of prisoners found in the British War Department after the war, the name of Calvin Waterman appears as a prisoner on the Jersey.[41] He is among ten other American prisoners bearing the Waterman surname. According to one report, over 11,000 American prisoners on the Jersey perished. Nearly half of the prisoners taken on Long Island died.[42]

According to an one British historian:

> The American prisoners who had been confined in New York after the Battle of Long Island were so emaciated and broken down by scandalous neglect or ill usage that Washington refused to receive them in exchange for an equal number of healthy British or Hessian troops. * * * It is but justice to the Americans to add that their conduct during the war appears to have been almost uniformly humane. No charges of neglect of prisoners, like those which were brought, apparently with too good reason, against the English were substantiated against them. The conduct of Washington was marked by careful and steady humanity, and (Benjamin) Franklin, also appears to have done much to mitigate the war.[43]

Calvin was exchanged for British soldiers in May or June of 1777 at New London, near his home at Norwich. He was emaciated. He did not rejoin the American military forces until four years later.

Luther Waterman [6]. Luther Waterman, Ebenezer's second oldest son, was born November 11, 1756.

> Luther Waterman enlisted 1 Feb. 1777 for the duration of the War under Capt. Abner Bacon of Canterbury, 4th Regt. (Col. Durkee), Connecticut Line, and was killed at Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania, 14 Nov. 1777. * * * His death is recorded in Norwich (in the family register of his father) as occurring 11 Nov. 1777, but modestly without mention of his war service or death in battle.[44]

At the time of his death in 1777, Luther Waterman was 21 years of age and unmarried.

Fort Mifflin was on the Delaware River just south of Philadelphia, the American capital occupied by the British. The Americans put up a remarkable defense despite effective fire from British ships located on the river. Following this battle, Washington withdrew his Continental Army into winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.[45]

The war took its toll on the family of Ebenezer Waterman, Jr. Calvin was captured in 1776 only to be released about nine or ten months later as an emaciated young man. Luther was killed in 1777; Ebenezer became an invalid in 1780.

On April 23, 1781, Calvin Waterman, having regained his health, joined Captain Charles Meil's Company of Brigadier-General David Waterbury's Connecticut Brigade. This unit was

"raised for the defense for the post at Horseneck, Connecticut . . . [and] . . . for the defense of the sea coast from Horseneck to New Haven inclusive."[46] By this time, the states were paying their soldiers more than Congress had appropriated for the Continental troops. In July, this unit joined Washington while encamped at Phillipsburg, New York, and later was under General William Heath on the Westchester Line.

The American Revolutionary War lasted about eight years, from April 19, 1775, to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19, 1781. This was followed by the formal signing of the Treaty of Paris on September 3, 1783.

Norwich Town. In 1775, Benjamin Franklin became the first postmaster general under the Continental Congress. In 1782, a post office was established next to the meeting-house in Norwich. In the early 1800s, a second post office was opened on the Landing at the head of the Thames River. In 1836, the name of the first post office near the meeting-house was changed to Norwich Town. Since then, the historic section of Norwich has been referred to as Norwich Town or Norwichtown.[1]

In 1787, the Constitutional Convention meeting at Philadelphia approved the United States Constitution for thirteen states, and passed the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 that provided an enlightened form of government for "the territory of the United States North-West of the River Ohio." The territory eventually became the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. In the middle of the eighteenth century, New England land had ceased to be rich, and there was a shortage of wood. On March 24, 1788, Asa Waterman, homeward bound from Port-au-Prince in the Brig Fanny, was wrecked in a fog upon Narragansett Bay.[2]

Following the war, Ebenezer returned home to Norwich. In about 1786, Ebenezer sold his land in Norwich. By 1790 he had settled on the east side of the Hudson River in Rensselaerwick, Albany County, New York.

Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Ebenezer's son, Calvin, settled a few miles east of him in Pittsfield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts.[3] In about 1786, Calvin married Nancy Remington of Pittsfield.[4] In Pittsfield, he was close enough to have cared for his disabled and elderly father. Also living in Pittsfield was Ebenezer's younger sister, Miriam Waterman Tracy, born April 14, 1741. She was the wife of Nehemiah Tracy, who had died in 1784. Nehemiah and Miriam were both descendants of Lieutenant Thomas Tracy of Norwich. Nehemiah and Miriam had also lived in Norwich. They had seven children. The eldest was Edmund, or Eadmund Tracy, and Alanson Tracy, born September 29, 1771, was the second oldest.

Within ten years, Ebenezer moved a few miles east to Stephentown, Rensselaer County, New York. With this move, he was even closer to his son, Calvin. Another son of Ebenezer's, Elijah, lived in the next county south, Columbia County, New York. Rensselaer and Columbia Counties lay between the Massachusetts western state line and the Hudson River about 150 miles north of Manhattan Island and the mouth of the Hudson River. Economic life of this area was intimately tied to the Hudson River water route. On April 30, 1789, George Washington was inaugurated in New York City as the first President of the United States. On July 14, 1789, citizens of Paris stormed the Bastille and released its prisoners at the start of the French Revolution.

Ebenezer died about 1800. Calvin left the Berkshire Mountain area in 1800, perhaps following the death of his father, crossed the Hudson River, and migrated west with his family.[5]

Children of Ebenezer Waterman, Jr., and Sybil (Clark) Waterman. Children of Ebenezer and Sybil (Clark) Waterman, born at Norwich, are:

[1] Calvin, b. 17 Jan. 1755; d. 16 Oct. 1840.

[2] Luther, b. 11 Nov. 1756; d. 11 Nov. 1777, unm.

[3] Ezekiel, b. 6 May 1759.

[4] Rhoda, b. 4 Mar. 1761.

[5] Elijah, b. 27 Oct. 1764; d. 1834.

[6] Eleazer, b. 15 Nov. 1768.

[7] Adin, b. 4 Jan 1770.[6]

Hudson River Valley. Prior to the Revolutionary War, settlement in the northern parts of what was to become the United States of America was limited to New England and the Hudson River valley. Up and down the Hudson, a natural waterway from Canada on the north to Manhattan Island and the Atlantic on the south, travel and trade occurred, and settlements arose on both sides of the river. The English had initially settled New England; the Dutch and the English had located in the Hudson River valley.

The Appalachian Mountains, stretching from Canada on the north, along the west side of the Hudson River, and as far south to Alabama, had been a formidable barrier to western migration. Civilization ended on the western side of the Hudson. West of the Appalachians lay an impenetrable wilderness. Prior to the

War, knowledge of what was beyond the Appalachians was full of conjecture.[7] As the war came to a close, the march of armies and returning soldiers had made known to the people along and east of the Hudson the potential of western land.

The western migration of people seemed to defy the odds. The Appalachians ran north and south, and most rivers ran north and south. The Mohawk River, flowing through the break in the northern Appalachian barrier, was an exception.[8] It became a highway for the westward migration just as the Cumberland Gap in western Maryland provided a natural gateway through the Appalachians to the Ohio River valley.

Mohawk River Gap and West. The Mohawk River flowed eastward from just north of Fort Stanwix, now Rome, New York, through a valley in the Allegheny Mountains, a part of the Appalachians, to the confluence with the Hudson River at Cohoes Falls, just above Albany.[9] Calvin's route west took him by water. Travel by water was faster, safer, more comfortable, and more economical than over land through the wilderness. Upstate New York was sparsely populated. The woods were still deep; the traveled routes were mere tracks through a virgin wilderness.[10] Water routes played a substantial role in the westward migration of the Waterman family: the Atlantic Ocean for Robert; the Thames River for Thomas; the Mohawk River for Calvin; the Erie Canal, Lake Erie, and the Maumee River from Toledo, Ohio, to northeast Indiana for Calvin's son, Elijah. For each, sallying west took courage and skill whether it be over water or land.

A westward traveler such as Calvin in 1800, after crossing the Hudson to Albany, went by overland coach for seventeen miles to Schenectady to avoid the Cohoes Falls, and then he embarked by boat propelled by sails, long oars, and poles on the Mohawk River through the wilderness for 104 miles to Utica.[11] This laborious trip against the river current took about a week. At Utica, our traveler may have stopped for a lunch of bread and water at Bagg's Tavern.[12] From Utica, one usually traveled by land coach to Wood Creek, then by coach and boats to Oneida Lake, the Oneida River, Onondaga Lake, the Seneca River, and other waterways leading westward in succession through Onondaga County and to Cayuga County in central New York State.[13]

Scipio, New York. In 1793, Calvin Waterman's cousin, Captain Alanson Tracy, migrated from Pittsfield to "Tracy's Corners," later "Bolts Corners," at Scipio, New York, to settle.[1] Alanson married Martha Howe in 1796. She was born November 26, 1779.

Alanson was a man of great prowess, energy and perseverance. It is related that once while upon a bear hunt, seeing a companion in imminent danger of being embraced by a bear, he jumped astride the back of the bear, which was standing erect upon his hind feet, and seizing him by the ears, rode him until his bearship was clubbed to death.[2]

Martha died July 6, 1841, in Alexandria, Genesee County, New York. Alanson died July 10, 1852, at the age of 81 years.

In 1800, Calvin and Edmund Tracy, Alanson's older brother, migrated to Scipio. Their families went with them, including Calvin's son, Elijah, then 11 years of age. Soon thereafter, Edmund moved to Alexandria where he died at an early age survived by his wife and several children. Miriam Waterman Tracy, his mother, died December 24, 1833, at Alexandria.

On December 20, 1800, Calvin bought a lot in Scipio, Cayuga County, New York. There he probably built a log cabin in the woods and began chopping out a clearing. He purchase Lot 47 in Cayuga County on April 6, 1803 and sold the first lot on June 16, 1803. On April 4, 1805, he sold Lot 47 in Cayuga County that he had purchased April 6, 1803, to another.[3]

Camillus, New York. At the time Onondaga County was organized, it was comprised of 11 towns, including the town of Camillus.[4] On June 28, 1811, Calvin Waterman of Camillus, Onondaga County, New York, purchased 250 acres of the north part of Lot 29 in the town of Camillus.[5] On May 1, 1821, he bought the other 50 acres so that he owned the north half of Lot 29. On November 3, 1812, Calvin and Lucretia, his second wife, sold Isaac Lindsay, Sarah Lindsay Waterman's father, 183 acres in Lot 29. On April 27, 1813, he sold a few acres to his son-in-law, John Patch. On April 26, 1814, Calvin sold Elijah, his oldest son, 50 acres in Camillus for $250. There he lived until his death.

Calvin, while living in Camillus, was listed as a shoemaker and a yeoman.[6] However, most of the skills required of persons living in that area were those of a backwoodsman.[7] In a wild country in those days, one pulled his own teeth and depended upon a passerby to set a broken leg. One knew he would die if his appendix burst. People depended upon their neighbors who were far off.[8] Members of the Iroquois League of Indians were neighbors. The work of clearing forest land was brutal. Trees were chopped and burned. Corn was planted in unplowed soil. The woods were full of game. Cows with bells on them were turned loose to forage. A trip to the post office, several miles away, was perhaps a monthly occurrence. Trudging through deep, unbroken snow banks at night, blinded by swirling snow, was not unusual.[9]

Elijah Waterman [7]. Elijah Waterman, Calvin's oldest child, was born on December 27, 1788, at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Elijah was 11 years of age in 1800 when he accompanied his father westward to Onondaga County, New York. Elijah married Sarah Lindsay sometime before 1810. She was born July 27, 1789, in Salem, Washington County, New York. Calvin sold land containing 183 acres to her father, Captain Isaac Lindsay, on November 3, 1812.[1] Isaac was the first settler in Camillus having settled there in 1791. Isaac owned Lot 80 of Township No. 5 of the Military Tract, which is also described as Lot 80 of the Town of Camillus.[2]

On January 22, 1802, Isaac Lindsay [Lindsey] was appointed as Ensign [2nd Lieutenant] in Captain Jacob Chandler's 6th Company of Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Robert Earl's 3rd Regiment of Brigadier General Elihu Lewis' newly formed Brigade of Onondaga County Militia. He was promoted to Captain on March 11, 1802. In the census of 1810, Elijah was listed at Camillus, Onondaga County, New York, with a wife and child under 10. He and his wife are listed as being between 16 and 26 years of age.

War of 1812. Elijah served in the New York Militia during the War of 1812. The War of 1812 was provoked by British harassment of American shipping. "The Star Spangled Banner" was written during the War of 1812 when the American flag had fifteen stripes. The Americans lost Detroit and captured York [now

Toronto]. The British burned the White House. On September 10, 1813, an American naval force under Oliver Hazard Perry defeated a similar British fleet in the Battle of Lake Erie. His words at the time to American General William Henry Harrison, his commanding officer, were, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." The War ended in a stalemate, but it had served to push back the Indian frontier and to reinforce American independence.

From public records, it appears that Elijah volunteered for a long tour of duty. After all, he had probably listened to his father, Calvin, and possibly his grandfather talk about their exploits in the Revolutionary War, which had ended 30 years earlier. From September 15, 1812, to October 14, 1812, he was a "Fifer" "in service" with Captain Thomas L. Rich's Company of Colonel Andrew Sitcher's 3rd Artillery, New York Militia, at Artillery Park for the defense of the New York Harbor. Elijah may have served earlier in an Onondaga County unit of the New York Militia, but no record has been found. During the War of 1812, a local unit of the militia, usually formed of neighbors, seldom fought as a unit, unless it was located in a border county, which Onondaga County was not. Instead, a given proportion of men was taken as volunteers or drafted for a particular emergency or service.[3] From December 16, 1812, to December 16, 1813, Elijah, age 24 years, was a "Fifer" "in service" at North Battery, New York, with Captain Stephen Conover's Company of Colonel Sitcher's 1st Artillery.[4] From May 1, 1813, to May 22, 1813, Elijah was "on duty" at Ellis Island.[5] The military post

at North Battery and Ellis Island served to guard the Hudson River from the incursion of British men-of-war, as had happened during the Battle of Long Island in 1776.

By an extant warranty deed dated April 26, 1814, Calvin Waterman of Camillus conveyed 50 acres of land, being a part of Lot 29 of Camillus, to Elijah "of the same place." This deed was recorded on September 4, 1816. Captain Isaac Lindsay, Elijah's father-in-law, owned land adjoining on the south.

On about October 27, 1814, Elijah was apparently called to duty as a "private" in Captain Stephen Tappen's unit in the New York Militia. He was discharged on November 16, 1814, with a written remark that his residence was 120 miles from the place of discharge. He may have been at Fort Wellington on the St. Lawrence River at Ogdensburgh, New York, on the Canadian border, which is about 120 miles in a northeasterly direction from Camillus in a northeasterly direction.[6] Constructed during the War of 1812, Fort Wellington protected a vital communications link between Montreal and Kingston, Ontario. Elijah was authorized six travel days and was paid through November 22, 1814. His pay for this 27-day period was $7.15.[7]

The War ended on January 8, 1815, after the Americans under Andrew Jackson had defeated the invading British at New Orleans. Although the war was over, Americans continued to anticipate further hostilities.

There is an extant document which appears to be the right half of the note of a military surgeon, Isaac Magoon,

recommending that Elijah be excused from military duty for "bodily infirmities." The note is also signed by Captain John L. Cooper of the 16th Regiment, 27th Brigade. No date appears on the existing portion of the note. The 16th Regiment, 27th Brigade, located in Onondaga County, was first mentioned in public records on May 20, 1812, as under the command of Brigadier General John Ellis. Isaac Magoon, who was a physician in Camillus in 1808, was appointed on March 10, 1810, as Surgeon's Mate in Major Jacob Chandler's battalion of infantry, probably a part of Lieutenant Colonel Commandant John Ellis' unit. From April 24, 1818, to March 17, 1821, Magoon was appointed a surgeon in the 16th Regiment. John L. Cooper was first mentioned on July 8, 1816, as a lieutenant in the 16th Regiment. On April 24, 1818, he was promoted to captain. Thus, the military note was probably written between April 24, 1818, and March 17, 1821.[8] Although the war was over in 1815, Americans continued for several years to anticipate further hostilities with the British.

In a letter dated March 16, 1851, to Elijah Waterman in Indiana from his brother, Eleazar Waterman, of Van Buren, Onondaga County, New York, refers to military service which suggests that Elijah and Eleazar served together in the same unit.

> you wisht me to write in relation to the
> Rigement what number and what officers I have
> forgotten the No of the Regement the Regement
> is commanded by Colonel Heacock under General
> Ellis Captain Stephen Tappen Comanded our
> Company we was about one month I have
> Employed Nehemiah Earll to do my Business for
> me last fall I will be particular in getten

the number of the Regement and write again to
you . . .

Methodists. In 1786, Calvin Waterman was listed on a census of the First Church in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. While living in New York state, Elijah and his brother, Eleazar, attended Methodist camp meetings. Later, in Indiana, Elijah Waterman is reported to be a Methodist.[9]

Methodism arose as an evangelical discipline within the Church of England in the 1730s. The movement was later brought to America by John and Charles Wesley. They undertook a series of preaching missions in colonial times throughout America. In 1784, the tie of the Methodist movement to the Anglican Church was formally severed, and the Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in Baltimore.[10]

> As Boston was the center of Congregationalism, New York of Episcopalianism, Philadelphia of Presbyterianism, so Baltimore became the headquarters of early Methodism.[11]

As stated before, Puritanism started as an agitation within the Church of England. From Puritanism, there developed two religious movements, one tending to frontier evangelicalism, and the other to a more philosophical or skeptical view of religion. In one sense, Methodism, the former, and Unitarianism, the latter, were children of Puritanism. Organized religion declined sharply during and after the American Revolution. Only about ten percent of the population were church members in 1790, although more attended religious services.

> The American denomination which, above all others, became the frontier church in the

nineteenth century and which profited the most by the religious spirit of the West was the Methodist Episcopal Church.[12]

Coeval with the expanding Republic, Methodists undertook a national mission through a system of horseback, circuit-riding ministers, who took their message west to the frontier settlements, where it found fertile ground among the descendants of Puritans.[13]

> . . . as a sect of the poor and a child of an aristocratic church, Methodism was able to enter upon an unprecedented career of frontier conquest.[14]

Methodism grew, relative to other religious groups, more out of its ability to assimilate to the social conditions of the frontier than out of any doctrinal emphasis or particular belief. It expanded quickly on the frontier because it did not have the theological or organizational strictures of Puritanism or the Church of England.[15]

Frontier Religious Thought. Elijah, Eleazar, and their younger brother, Thomas, attended Methodist camp meetings in New York State. There they developed a religious perspective. Their father, Calvin, may not have participated in organized religion.

> . . . you and I had a loud call [to get religion] in the death of Calvin he had no time to prepare to meet death. . . . [Letter from Othniel Waterman to Miles Waterman, January 15, 1841.]

Perhaps the Revolutionary War experience and his migration west from New England caused a separation of Calvin and his descendants from the Puritan church. The established churches did not keep pace with western migration and new religious

movements such as Methodism gained sway. As the early settlements became populated, a social life developed and the church meetings were often the most prominent social activity of a community on the frontier. Methodism took an early abstinence stand on alcohol. An underemployed farmer could easily waste his idle time in taverns. In this instance, the moral position grew out of the social conditions of the frontier rather than from established religious doctrine. There is no suggestion of the use of alcoholic beverages in letters from New York to Indiana.

Despite the probable, unsophisticated nature of the local religious movements, Eleazar's correspondence, written to his brother, Elijah, who had migrated westward discloses a well-developed and profound religious perspective in a frontier circumstance.

> . . . I see the things of time and sense are fading and transitory in this world. . . . the blessings that we enjoy here on Earth . . . [are] through the mercy of god. . . . [I am] determined to tri to live the life of the Richious. . . . [May 1941?]
>
> . . . a few years ago I was surrounded with friends that ware near and dear to me and while I reflect whar they are some in distant lands and some are gone to there long houses from which no traveler returnes. . . . [May 1941?][16]
>
> My Brother [Elijah] let us prove faith-ful to god and to his grace a few mor dise [days] and we shall be done with the things of time and sins and meat each other in that world of bliss whare parting will be no more. [August 22.]
>
> Brother I should like very much once more to se you in the flesh but as time is fast a hastning to carry us to our long homes

> I feel very solom and would ask my Self the question am I prepared to meet you in that haven of Rest where the wicked will cease from troubling and the weary shall be for ever at Rest. [July 30, 1854.]

Warner's Cemetery. Calvin died at 85 years of age on October 16, 1840, at Van Buren, a town which had been partitioned from Camillus. Van Buren was named after Martin Van Buren, a Democrat from New York, who followed Andrew Jackson as President of the United States from 1837 to 1840. The stone over Calvin's grave in Warners Cemetery, Onondaga County, New York, reads "Calvin Waterman/Soldier/ of the Revolution/Died 1836 (sic)/ aged 88 years."[17]

Children of Calvin and Nancy [Remington] Waterman. The six children of Calvin and Nancy (Remington) Waterman are:

> [1] Elijah, born December 27, 1788, at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, died at Waterloo, DeKalb County, Indiana, March 7, 1864, married Sarah Lindsay, born July 27, 1789, at Salem, Washington County, New York, died February 9, 1851, near Waterloo;
>
> [2] Charlotte A., born June 15, 1790, died at Lysander, Onondaga County, New York, November 22, 1866, married William E. Ware, born October 3, 1784, died at Lysander, March 19, 1853;
>
> [3] Eleazar, born about 1792, at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, died at Delta, Eaton County, Michigan, on October 7, 1856, while visiting his son, James, buried in Michigan, resided at Van Buren, New York, married at Van Buren, New York, June 30, 1816, Chloe Peck, born at Pompey, New York, on June 11, 1799, died in 1882, daughter of Enos and Lavina (Wilcox) Peck;
>
> [4] Nancy? or Mary?, born , July 31, 1794, died at Van Buren, New York, April 29, 1820, married John Patch, born , died at Camillus (Van Buren), Onondaga County, New York, February 4, 1829;

[5] John R., born _____, died at Camillus, Onondaga County, New York, on September 25, 1826, married Betsey _____;

[6] Thomas, born after 1800, migrated from Lysander, New York, to Bloomingdale, Illinois, near Chicago, in September, 1839, moved in 1840 at Elk Horn, Walworth County, Wisconsin, married Susan Eliza _____.[18]

## VIII. THE ERIE CANAL AND LAKE ERIE SAILING BOATS

In 1837, just over 200 years after Robert Waterman began his voyage west across the Atlantic, Elijah Waterman, age 48 years of age, in central New York State began his trek west to settle in northeastern Indiana.

Erie Canal. Near Camillus and the home of Elijah Waterman in New York State, the middle section of the Erie Canal was opened in May of 1820.[1] The canal ran east and west and intersected Nine Mile Creek which ran from the south through Camillus in a northeasterly direction to Onondaga Lake. Nine Mile Creek was a "feeder" that supplied water for a portion of the canal.

> A "side-out" or "feeder" of the Erie Canal extends to the village [of Camillus], and the Nine-Mile Creek supplies excellent water power, which attracted settlers and began to be utilized for mill purposes at an early period.[2]

The Erie Canal played a significant role in the economic and social life of the Watermans living in Onondaga County during the 1820s, the 1830s, and the migration west in 1837.

Before the canal was completed, those living in Onondaga County were virtual backwoodsmen and yeoman farmers. After it was completed in 1825, the canal brought people, freight, the arts, dry goods, entertainment, theater companies, and civilization to central and western New York state.[3] Only the Mohawk River Valley in New York had offered both a land and water pass through the Appalachian Mountain range. The challenge lay

in improving the route. The plans were for a manmade waterway fed by the Mohawk River, but offering an alternative to its waterfalls and rapids. The Erie Canal would connect Albany, the Hudson River, New York City, and the Atlantic Ocean in the east with Buffalo and the Great Lakes in the west.

Construction on the Erie Canal started in Rome, New York, on July 4, 1817. As the canal progressed, farmers in the neighborhood moonlighted with brief tours of duty on the canal. The first boat traversing the full length of the canal started from Lake Erie and Buffalo in the west, traveled east through Onondaga County to Albany, continued south on the Hudson River, and arrived in New York City for a big celebration in November 1825. The Erie Canal made New York Harbor the number one port in America, shaped the social and economic development of the new nation in the north, and provided a passage for immigrants to America in search of new lands and new opportunities to the west. In particular, the canal served as the initial leg for settlers to northern Ohio, Michigan, northern Indiana, northern Illinois, and southern Wisconsin.

The Erie Canal arrived several years before the railroad. It was a phenomenal financial success, unlike the later Wabash and Erie Canal paralleling the Maumee River from Toledo, Ohio, through Fort Wayne, Indiana, to and down the Wabash River connecting to the Ohio River.[4] The latter canal could not compete financially with the railroads which were operating as it was completed.

The canal age was relatively short. The mule-driven boats moved in leisurely procession through the peaceful countryside that had so recently been a wilderness frontier.[5] Canal travel before the rails was the fastest and most comfortable way to travel through the undeveloped country in central and western New York state. The top speed was about four miles per hour.[6] There were "farmer-sailors" on the canal.[7] Boats were propelled by long poles. Winters along the canal in upstate New York were bleak. In the fall of the year, there was a rush to complete a trip before the winter ice set in.[8] By 1836, there were 3,000 boats of all types on the canal.[9]

On December 22, 1836, Elijah Waterman and his wife Sally of Lysander, New York, conveyed their real estate to others, and in the spring of 1837, Elijah Waterman, together with his family, including his son, Miles, aged 19 years, migrated west.[10]

The Lure of the West. Why did Elijah go west? Perhaps, it was the lure of more lush lands, or the same compulsion which may have motivated his ancestors to leave western Massachusetts, and cross the Hudson River to the "untilled but plainly fertile west beyond the Mohawk gap and even further, in the Great Lakes country."[11] Past the western horizon lay a vast expanse of wilderness that was the subject of fables brought back by those who had trekked that way before. It was the dream of the restless who dwelled on its eastern edge.

> It was a country of glittering great lakes, of flat land that stretched as far as a man could ride on horseback for a week and that still stretched out more; a country of

black loam and rich muck, of inviolate forest with enough wood to build another world; a country of green meadows and gentle hills, of strange, beautiful new birds, different vegetation, and animals enough to fur all mankind and fill its belly full.[12]

The old Yankee settlers in central New York state, seized anew by the recurrent fever of fortune-hunting and adventure and economic competition along the Canal, pulled up stakes for a plunge further inland through the wilderness to the west.

> Many of the Yankees who had been numbered in the first surge of population into western New York had made their stay only temporary. Once they had wrenched themselves loose of their old homesteads to the east of the Hudson, it was easy to pick up again and follow the trails that were spreading out farther west, beyond Buffalo.[13] Their replacements were immigrant families.

Elijah, born in Massachusetts, had at age 11 years, crossed the Hudson River, and accompanied his father, Calvin, to Cayuga County and Onondaga County, New York. Moving west was not a new idea for Elijah.

Panic of 1837. Perhaps, the depressed economic conditions spurred Elijah to venture west. In May of 1837, due to deteriorating business conditions, New York banks suspended specie payments resulting in a loss of confidence in banks and stimulating runs on banks. This precipitated the "Panic of 1837," a major depression. President Martin Van Buren, who had been in office only two months, became known as a "depression president."

Routes West. In 1837, an inland-bound canal trip appealed more to westward immigrants because of its convenience and the

lack of danger relative to other modes of transportation. The railroad, which was being built from Schenectady and Utica westward, had not arrived in Onondaga County in 1837. It would be 1842 before the railroad was completed to Buffalo. There was a road which ran from Onondaga County onto Buffalo. But, the road was uncomfortable, inconvenient, and relatively unsafe.

Those who lived in central and western New York before the canal were few. They were considered an advance party for those who would later arrive later on the canal. The canal had brought many immigrant workers, mostly Irish, on the canal, who stayed. Upon completion of the canal, the canal was a natural highway for western immigration. During this time, there was also an influx of immigrants from Europe. The greatest tide of western immigration in the United States at this time passed through New York state, generally on the Erie Canal water route from Albany to Buffalo.[14] These immigrants also provided cheap labor in competition with the earlier settlers.

Arriving in 1837 in the City of Buffalo, the western terminal of the Erie Canal, the westward traveler found a city of approximately 16,000 inhabitants and about 400 retail stores and groceries. It was a temporary stopping place for myriads of travelers and immigrants.[15] Buffalo was located at the eastern end of Lake Erie, and was the primary gateway to the Great Lakes travel routes going west. From Buffalo, one could also travel north to Canada and Lake Ontario via Niagara Falls either by stage, steam boat, or one of two railroads. One railroad ran to

Niagara Falls on the American side and one on the Canadian side.[16]

Lake Erie Sailing Boats. Lake Erie, at that time, was probably the most important internal waterway communication in the United States. On Lake Erie, there were about 40 steam boats and 200 sloops and schooners. In 1835 alone, nearly 200,000 persons were estimated to have passed over its waters going west.[17] Steam boats, fitted expressly for the accommodation of both cabin and deck passengers, left Buffalo every morning and evening and stopped, at among other places, Cleveland, 158 miles, Huron, 183 miles, Toledo, 250 miles, and Detroit, 300 miles.[18] Highways, west of Buffalo, in 1837, did not exist. Roads went through towns, not across the country. To the west, there were Indian trails, paths through a wilderness. It would be several years before a semblance of a road system began to arise. In 1837, there were other routes west but none were so direct or so convenient to northeastern Indiana from central New York State as the Erie Canal and Lake Erie connections.

To the south of New York City, one could travel by stage coach from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Columbus, Chillicothe, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Madison, Vincennes, and St. Louis. Steam boats ran from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. On reaching Pittsburgh or Wheeling, several routes to various parts of Ohio were presented. At Louisville, a number of roads ran to different parts of Indiana and Illinois. Over these routes had flowed the pioneers who had

initially settled southern Ohio, southern Indiana, and southern Illinois.[19]

A westward traveler in 1837, such as Elijah, from Camillus in Onondaga County caught a canal boat at Nine Mile Creek. It was about 136 miles to the western terminus with Buffalo and the Niagara River. There, persons going west boarded Great Lakes sailing vessels for the trip across Lake Erie, some to Toledo, Ohio, and the mouth of the Maumee River.

Maumee River. Travel from Toledo to northeastern Indiana, in those days, usually involved travel both by water and by land. Elijah may have traveled from Toledo overland in a westerly direction to Adrian, Michigan, and to their initial settlement in southeastern Steuben County. The principal waterway was the Maumee River which flowed northeastward from Fort Wayne, Indiana, to Lake Erie at Toledo. Only a small portion of the Miami and Erie Canal along the Maumee River from Toledo connecting to the Wabash and Erie Canal near Defiance, Ohio, and on to Fort Wayne had been completed in 1837. Elijah may have traveled southwest from Toledo on or along the Maumee River to Defiance, where he and his family then traveled northwesterly on the Defiance and Lima Road[20] to their settlement. Travel along the Maumee River would have taken them through Indian villages.[21] Or, they may have continued along the Maumee River to Fort Wayne. From Fort Wayne, they would have traveled north some 35 miles to their settlement.[22]

## IX. INDIANA PIONEERS

It is wise for us to recur to the history of our ancestors. Those who do not look upon themselves as a link connecting the Past with the Future, do not perform their duty to the world.

Daniel Webster[1]

The Settlement of Indiana. Beginning about 1800 when Indiana became a territory of the United States, the southern parts of Indiana were settled, primarily by Virginians and Carolinians, a generation earlier than the northern one-third. Later, settlers from the south began a migration northward into Wabash County in north-central Indiana and the surrounding area.[2] Indiana became a state in 1816 when most of the population was in the southern parts of the state. In 1832, construction on the Wabash and Erie Canal began near Fort Wayne moving west toward Lafayette and parallel with the Wabash River.[3]

In about 1837, settlers began to arrive in the general area that became the northern two or three tiers of Indiana counties. These settlers were former New Englanders and New Yorkers for the most part. The area around Fort Wayne in Allen County attracted large numbers from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New England.[4]

Steuben County and DeKalb County. In the spring of 1837, Elijah and his family arrived in southeastern Steuben County located at the northeastern corner of Indiana near what was then known as the town of Enterprise, changing its name to Hamilton in about 1838. In the fall of 1837, they moved south across the

county line into northeastern DeKalb County and settled about three miles southwest of Enterprise in Section 19, Franklin Township.[5]

In 1837, DeKalb County was established, and the town of Auburn, which had been platted in 1835 near the center of DeKalb County, was designated as the seat of DeKalb County government. At that time, there was no house between the Waterman settlement and the town of Auburn, a distance of 10 miles.[6]

Pottawattomie. The principal inhabitants of the area at that time were Miami and Pottawattomie Indians, who often visited the Waterman family to exchange cranberries and game for corn meal and bread.[7] In 1837 and 1838 the Indians were forcefully relocated by the federal military to western locales.[8]

The Migration West of Other Family Members. In 1837, only four of Calvin's six children were living. Two, Nancy [?] [John] Patch [7] and John R. Waterman [7], had married and died at a relatively young age. Elijah Waterman [7] was 48 years of age when he migrated with his family to Indiana. His wife Sarah was 47. Elijah's sister Charlotte A. Ware [7], who was 46 years of age and married to William E. Ware, and Elijah's brother Eleazar Waterman [7], who was 44 and married to Cloe Peck, continued to reside in Lysander, Onondaga County, New York, until their deaths. However, Eleazar's son Horace Peabody Waterman [8] migrated to southern Michigan in 1853; James Waterman [8], Eleazar's second son, migrated there the following year. Calvin's youngest child Thomas Waterman [7] was 36 years old in

1837. He migrated to Bloomingdale, near Chicago, Illinois, in September 1839. In January 1840, he moved to Elk Horn, later LaGrange, Walworth County, Wisconsin Territory.

Elijah's oldest son Othniel Waterman was about 23 years of age and Miles Waterman was 20 years of age in 1837.[9] Four of Miles' boyhood friends A. R. Ware [8] a cousin, William B. Smalley, Walter Hanson, and Horace Peabody Waterman [8] a cousin remained behind in New York.

There are extant letters from most of the foregoing relatives and friends in New York sent to Elijah and Miles in Indiana during the period from 1837 to the close of the Civil War. These letters chronicle life on the frontier. Migrating west in 1837 meant leaving family and friends behind for the unknown, lonely life on the western edge of previously settled areas. Accompanying Elijah as he moved west to Indiana were his wife, Sarah "Sally" Lindsay, his children, Margaret [Mrs. John Matson], Othniel, Miles, Julia, Hester Ann, Sarah [Mrs. Clark Parker], Polly [Mrs. Miles W. Bullard], and Macelia [Mecelia] [Mrs. Lewis Heighes].

Letters from Eleazar Waterman [7]. Eleazar Waterman was four years younger than his brother Elijah and corresponded with Elijah from 1837 until his death. The correspondence from Eleazar Waterman to Elijah is at times sad. Eleazar lamented:

> . . . we lived so near from Child hood.
> [Eleazer Waterman, May 1941?]

> Oh how I want to hear from you and Sally [Sarah]. I have not forgotten you or your family. [May 1941?]

He yearned to see his brother again:

> I should be glad to see you face to face
> and shake your friendly hand on earth. . . .
> [May 16, 1851]

At first, there was a feeling that the distance was so great they would never see each other again.

> I feel as though we live a great ways
> from each other and cannot see each others
> faces in this world. . . . [April 28, 1846,
> Van Buren, New York]

As old age crept upon him, Eleazar again lamented:

> all though you live in a far Country yet
> I feel we are near by the ties of nature and
> when I reflect back upon months and years
> that have gone by and the [Methodist]
> meetings and the Seasons we have enjoyed to
> gether I feel that thos Seasons will never be
> enjoyed by us again. . . . [March 16, 1851]

Then the train arrived. In the summer of 1852, Eleazar traveled to Indiana and returned through Michigan by a combination of wagon, train, Lake Erie sailing boats, and train car through western New York State. He described the trip:

> the day we left you [Elijah's Indiana
> home] we staid alnight at Coldwater
> [Michigan] . . . the next morning we started
> for Marshal [Michigan] Mrs Peck was taken
> sick before we got to marshall there we all
> took dinner and parted I hired our passage
> to belvea [Bellevue, Eaton County, Michigan]
> on a line wagon for which I paid one dollar
> and fifty cents. . . . [to visit] our friends
> there . . . found a very good Country of land
> there . . . we started on wensday for Jackson
> [Michigan] [to visit friends] . . . we all
> started from Jackson Monday morning at seven
> oclk on the Cars got to detroit which is
> Eighty miles we got on the may flower a bout
> nine oclock in the morning and the next

morning we was in Bufelow [Buffalo, New York]
about day light we got one the cars and was

in Auburn [New York State] on tuesday about
one oclock in the afternoon and staid till
Six oclock and got to nine mile Creek [in
Onondaga County, New York] befoue dark on
tusday the next morning we came home.
[August 22, 1852?]

Staying healthy was always a problem. Medicine was primitive. Pain-killing compounds were unknown. A person who became sick in September or October often remained sick until the spring.

. . . my health and family . . . is
tolerable good at present with the Exception
of bad colds I do not enjoy so good health as
I did when you lived here. [May 1841?]

Othniel [writes that he] . . . has been
aflicted with Rheumatism all winter past but
is getting better. . . . [May 1841?]

my family is all well at present. [July
30, 1854]

Sister ware and family is well. [July 30,
1854]

Economically, there were good and bad times.

. . . I have thought of Building a house
this Season I have got my lumber on the spot
but the times are so hard and I am in debt so
much I am all most disscouraged I have made a
Bargan with Ezra Nichols I am to pay him one
hundred and Seventy five dollars for Building
our house. . . . [May 1841?]

Letters were often written in times of loneliness. The frontier had its hardships. Fortunate economic circumstances quickly changed to despair and back again; good health slipped into poor health.

The family provided the social support for individuals.

I wrote to you in my last letter about fathers [Calvin's] death [on October 16, 1840] he left the world in pece and had his senses to the last. [May 1841?]

Thomas . . . lives in Wisconsin. [May 1841?]

Eleazar writes about better times:

> my boys are all at home with me at present at work Almon and James is to work on the farm and Horace and Dudley to work at Coopering [making or repairing barrels] for me I am Carring on the coopering this Season Horace and Dudley calculates sixteen hundred flower Barrels and I have hiered a man to make eight hundred more and I have another man to work at pork barrels he is agoing to make 300 he has got his lumber all out I furnished the lumber and the reve it all out for them. [April 28, 1846]

He writes about extended family members and friends.

> John Waterman came out here last fall [1845] and has been here ever since he is to work at Jacobs Lambersons my son-in-laws this time out. [April 28, 1846]

Pleas give my love to all your Children and especially to Margaret and John [Matson] and Othniel and Miles . . . to ["friends"] Rachel and Cyrus [Bowman] . . . William Linday and wife . . . Sister Sally . . . old Mother Waterman [Priscilla Waterman] is out of health She lives to Richard Pecks at the Corners. [April 28, 1846]

Give our Respects to Margaret and John [Matson] and Othniel and Miles and all the rest of your Children and Rachel and Cyrus Bowman . . . William Ware [brother-in-law] and family are all well. [March 16, 1851]

> We have heard from Horace and his family a few [days] ago they ware all well James is

agoing to start in a bout three weeks for
michigan. [March 6, 1854, Eleazar to Miles]

my Horace and James is in Michigan near
Lansing the Capital within four miles of the

latter Horace moved there last fall James moves this Spring. [July 30, 1854]

I wish you writ whare Othniel is and how his health is. [July 30, 1854]

Doc Ladd sends his respects to you. [July 30, 1854]

Mary wants Macelia to look for a letter from her in about a week. [July 30, 1854]

Almon and Dudley works the farm withe my help. [July 30, 1854]

Writing Style. The style of writing on the frontier was a holdover from the Eighteenth Century. Words were separated by spaces as they are today, but there were no commas, periods, or other punctuation. The space was the same at the end of sentence and the next sentence as it was between words; sentences seemed to run-on to each other. The first word of a sentence was routinely not capitalized. Few capital letters were used except for names. Vellum parchment was used until after the Civil War, and then paper began to be made with wood. Parchment tended to deteriorate slower.

In the Eighteenth Century typographical style, a letter similar to the sixth lower case letter "f" in the present alphabet, but with out the cross mark extending to the right of the upright mark, was used in place of the nineteenth lower case letter "s" in certain places. For instance, Othniel wrote to Miles . . . the Whigs in Congrefs are undoing all they did at the extra Sefsion and what can be expected from Men so fickle minded. When the symbol or letter "s" was the first letter of a word, it appeared as if it was in the upper case. Some letters were

capitalized inconsistently in the same letter. Most of the words were simple, but occasionally there were longer words such as "conveniently." [July 30, 1854.] Some misspelled words were due to old age, oversight, or haste in writing; some errors appeared to be due to lack of formal education.

The writings of Miles and his New York boyhood friends became more sophisticated as they progressed through school. The style of Miles disclosed some formal education. While later serving in the Indiana General Assembly in 1863, his prose became eloquent and forceful.

One may assume that Elijah was as well written as Eleazar, his younger brother by four years. Thomas who was at least 12 years younger than Elijah, was an accomplished writer.

After returning home from a visit to Indiana and Michigan in 1852, Eleazar wrote:

> . . . Coldwater [Michigan] is a butiful place I think I should like to one [own] a farm in that vacinity. [August 22, 1852?]

> The [southern Michigan] land was very good I never saw such field of wheat Some fields from forty to Eighty acres. [August 22, 1852?]

> I found a farm there with two hundred acres about one hundred and forty or fifty acres Cleard with a good orchard and a good new frame house withe a wing painted white and a good Barn for three thousand dollars which is ten miles from Jacson. [August 22, 1852?]

> give my love and Respects to your dear family and tell them that I have not forgotten the pleasing we had withe them som two years ago. [March 6, 1854]

My dear Brother I think of the visit we had with you over two years a go. [July 30, 1854]

give My respects to miles and his family tell them that I have not forgotten them for their kindness to us when we arived at his house and also to the rest of your family Othniel and his family and the girls and allso to John Matison [sic] and Margret Give my love to that man that brought us from fort wain [Fort Wayne] to Auburn [Indiana]. [July 30, 1854]

Pleas give my Respects to Cyrus Bowman and Rachel. [July 30, 1854]

The mail was sent with relatives or friends going west.

Leroy Farnam [Farmham?] who is the bearer of this letter starts for Indiana day after tomorrow. [April 28, 1846]

we send them ['Stockens'] withe Nathaniel Jones. [August 22, 1852?]

Eleazar participated in civi

c matters.

tomorrow I am Cald to sit on a Jurey at Baldwins vill [Onondaga County, New York. [April 28, 1846]

Apparently, Elijah sent a newspaper back to Eleazar in New York.

The democrat Messenger has been Sent to me the most part of a year past I would like to no who Sends me the paper I feel verry thankful to him that sends it. [July 30, 1854]

On a letter from Eleazar, Van Buren, New York, dated March 16, 1851, and on other letters, Mecelia Waterman, Elijah's youngest child, wrote notes in the margins. She lived in Indiana. Her notes usually referred to members of her family and sometimes were simple rhymes. She was apparently of a young age. She clearly spelled her name Mecelia, not Macelia. She appeared

to be using letters to be practicing her writing skills by copying words and names on the margins of the letters. On the March 16, 1851, letter from Eleazar, she wrote in the margins the names: Mecelia Waterman, Miles W. Bullard [her brother-in-law], Miles Waterman, Sarah J. Waterman [her sister?], Mr. Elijah Waterman.

Due to his prior military service, Elijah was entitled to a land grant from the government. In this respect, Miles corresponded on behalf of his elderly father with Eleazar in New York. Eleazar wrote in return in 1854 to Miles:

> I have received no warrant. I went to Baldwinsville to se Mr. Grunfield [sp?] he tils me he has not Received any for your father he sais he will write to Doctor Jones to Washington sating to him the circumstances that thare has not been any warrant Sent to him an will Request the Doctor to go to the pension office and tell the circumstances to the Commissioner of Pensions as the Doctor is a friend to him when the warrant comes I will see that it is sent to you. [March 6, 1854]

> I should to know whether you have got your land warrant or not I saw Mr. Grufield [Grunfield?] a few dais ago and he has not received any word from Washington in Relation to your warrant. [July 30, 1854]

Eleazar traveled west again in 1856, where he died on October 7, 1856, in southern Michigan while visiting his son, James.

Letters from Othniel Waterman [8]. Elijah had eight children, two boys and six girls. Elijah, his wife, Sarah, and all of the children except for Othniel, the oldest of Elijah's children, appeared to have migrated to Indiana in 1837. All seem

to have died and were buried in Indiana except Othniel. Othniel, the second child, visited Indiana from his home in New York in the summer of 1840, where he purchased real estate in Section 30, Franklin Township, DeKalb County. He returned to New York Mills, New York, to be with his wife Mary Gambia Waterman late in the year. He wrote from New York Mills on December 1, 1840, to his brother Miles, who was the third child of Elijah and Sarah:

Newyork Mills Dec 1th 1840

Dear Brother

I have arrived safe at the plase of my destination after a tedious Journey I must give you A description of my Journey I left Father at Adrian [Michigan] at 3 or 4 oclock on Saturday arrived at Toledo [Ohio] at 10 O Clock the snow Bothered us so that the power wheel of the Locomotive could not do its intended work I went to the American House and got my super Paid three Shilling I found that there was a Boat ready to start A miserable apoligy for a boat on her I took pasag the Captain agreed to carry me to Buffalo [New York] for twenty Shillings I soon got sick of my bargin when we got out in the lake [Lake Erie] the wind blew and the Boat being small she ran well by day light I began to be sick I could not walk Breakfast was soon ready I thought that I would try to eat and drink som Caffa I set down to the table drank one cup of Caffa and eat two or three piles of fried sea Biscuit and left the table for the Cabin felt had I concluded to leave the poor craft when I got to Cleevela-nd [Ohio] paid my fare which was twelve Schillings before we had got to huran [Huron, Ohio] the first port after we left Toledo we see a Boat coming it proved to be the Illinois a good Boat In going over the Bar boath Boats got a ground but they managed to get in port this child was glad to leave the Chicago took my trunk and went on ord of the Illinois and had to pay $3 dollars from there

to Buffalo we had a good time it was
calculated that I should get up the Lak 30

hours sooner on the Illinois than I should if I had went on the Chicago which to me seemed some time I took a line boat [on the Erie Canal] and we had a bad stormy time I arrived at Uncle Eleazor nine days after I left Father I got there on Monday night found them all well and they was glad to see me or rather appeared so I had a good visit with Uncle and Aunt and the boys Grandfather Waterman is dead was buried about three weeks before I got there * * * I stayed Tuesday and Wednesday went to Baldwins ville [New York] with Almon [Tracy] it snowed all the time I went to go to Lysander [New York] but it snowed so that I was afraid that the canall would close and I went back with Almon stoped to Mr Tafts and took dinner the next morning Almon took me to the canall and I had to wait for a boat so long that Almon started for home he had not been gone more than 15 minutes before the Superintendent of the Canall came and told that the lock at Geddes Burgh [New York] was out of order and he was going to draw of the level and so I was obligated to hire a one horse wagon to take me to Syracuse [New York] Paid one dollar and brok down twice got there in time to take the four o Clock Cars it snowed so that we were from four o Clock till leven before I got to Whites Town went to the Temperance house and stayed all night or till morning went to G D Williams and there I found Mary and was verry glad to see her in good health she has borrowed a heape of trouble because I stayed so long my health has been on the gain ever since I left home with the exception of five or six days I have not felt so well I must bring this thing to a close for I have had the rumutism tell Mother that I am not home sick yet and do not think that I shall be if I have my health tell her that Mother Gambia [mother-in-law] has just come in tell her that she appears to be a good woman tell Sidney [Gambia] that it was late when I got to Toledo and the boat was just ready to

start and from the lower lunging and they
would not wait till I could get his
Cranberries then I was a going to wait but
there had not been any boat except that for 4
or 5 days and there was no other expected in
and I believe that I was lucky in coming to
huran [Huron] on the one that I did for the

Illinois did not touch at Toledo, tell him it was half past o'clock at night when I got to Rochester [New York] left the letter in the Post Office and the captain of the boat left at Rochester and he was acquainted with Wilson and he took the wings and said that he would carry them to him and I have the money if I could have seen Wilson I would have left the money with him tell Mariam that I went to her Fathers and took tea found them well . . . Mary sends her respects to you and the rest of the family and neighbors be sure to write as soon as you get this for I want to hear how Father got home and how the folks are.

Yours with respect,
Othniel Waterman

Miles Waterman, esq.

Othniel arrived at his New York home on November 28, 1940.

On August 27, 1841, nine months later, Frederick C. Waterman was born to Othniel and Mary Waterman. Othniel later wrote from New York Mills on January 15, 1841, to Miles:

. . . Father got home safe I was afraid he would have had such it may not do any good to caution but let me tell you I wish that you would not let him take another such a gain he is getting too far advanced in years to go so far from home alone and has so much business on his mind you may do as you are a minto.

Othniel wrote about neighbors and relatives:

I had forgot to tell you that Alford Ware teaches Chool in Little utica gets eighteen dollars per month W. C. Hanson is doing land office business without joking they say that he drives business and is getting the old man out of deat Uncle Eleazar see Grandfather Linsday at town meeting he said that he felt sorry for him he was so ragged I expect

according to description given he looks more
like a poorhouse candidate than anything els.

He went on to state:

There has been quite a reformation here in the presbyterian Church it is suposed that nearly three hundred have experienced religion besides quite a number in the Methodist George D. Williams has experienced religion and joined the methodist Church he is quite anxious that I should try to get religion and I think that it is time if there is a devine reason in it you and I have had a loud Call in the death of Calvin he had no time to prepare to meat death. . . .

In a letter to Miles from New York Mills, dated February 20, 1842, Othniel wrote:

. . . we are boath Well and Frederick likewise I am not sure as you know who Frederick is he is a boy that Mary found on the 27th of August last he is healthy and good natured Mary and Sarah thinks that he looks very much like myself (of coarse he must be good looking then) . It was a year the 28th of November last since I arrived here and the last summer and the present winter I have enjoyed my health first rate I am just working for George D. Williams and think I shall the next summer I wish it was so that I could come and live with my friends I do not want to come untill I can by me a piece of land. . . .

Othniel continued to write about a visit to a Methodist prayer meeting:

I have been on a visit to Lysander I arrived at Uncle Eleazars 11 o clock staid there that day and in the evening went to prayer meeting Methodist with uncle and aunt it was a noisy one in verry deed it all went well except that Old Loch had to say as you know Father old Loch never goes to meeting without herling a gauling at someone he did herl one at Uncle Eleazar that did not hinder them both from speaking he would holler Amen as spiteful as ever and it would frequently be out of joint.

In a letter written in the early summer of 1942 from New York Mills, Othniel stated:

Hard times continue worse and worse the
Factory on this plase stopped on the 3rd of
July and this is not the only one that looks
like Marisons or Whig good times.

In a letter dated September 24, 1842, from New York Mills,
Othniel wrote:

I received your letter on 27 of August
and have been waiting to send this letter by
S. P. Gambia. He is expected to start for
the west in two or three days as he returned
from the City last evening and full on music
to be sure.

The Factory will start in a few days I mean
the New York Mills they said if Congress
passed a Tariff they would not reduse the
wages but they have a Tariff and after all
they redused the wages or there
the worst way see the Wiggs have cried up a
Tariff and we must pay for the
by having to pay a hier prise for goods and
hour wages redused Shugar has rose since the
Tariff $3 per hundred and other goods in
proportion and this is the way we pay for a
Tariff though it is evident we must have one
to defray the expences of the Government.

In a letter dated October 30, 1842, Othniel wrote to Miles:

Mary is happy as an Irish Lord in a
potatoe hole Frederick is running a bout the
house jabering at this moment he is trying to
climb onto my knee. . . .

Miles went back to New York State in late October of 1943
and wrote home to Indiana on November 6, 1843, from Van Buren,
New York:

Othniel started for Indiana about three
weeks ago I told him to send me a paper when
he got across the Lake but I have not recd
any paper nor any intelligence concerning him
since he left I do not know but he has had a

bad time I should like to know whether he has
got home or not. . . .

After moving to Indiana in October 1843, Othniel settled in Steuben County near Hamilton, Indiana, for a while. Elijah lived in his retirement years in Waterloo, Indiana, in a log cabin at or near the northwest corner of what is now the intersection of United States Highway 6 and Center Street.

Hamilton Cemetery. Elijah and Sarah were buried in the cemetery at Hamilton, Indiana. Sarah was 61 years of age upon her death; Elijah died 13 years later. Their grave markers read:

| | |
|---|---|
| SALLY | ELIJA WATERMAN |
| Wife of | |
| ELIJAH | |
| WATERMAN | Died |
| DIED | Mar. 7, 1864 |
| Feb. 9, 1851 | Aged 75 Y'rs |
| — — Y. 6 m. & 15 d. | 2 Mo. & 10 D's[12] |

Children of Elijah and Sarah [Linsday] Waterman. The eight children of Elijah and Sarah [Linsday] Waterman are:

[1] Margaret, born _____, died near Waterloo, Indiana, married John Matson;

[2] Othniel, born _____, died Autumn 1882, married Mary Gambia;

[3] Miles, born in Onondaga County, New York, December 22, 1818, died in DeKalb County, Indiana, January 23, 1896, married at Franklin, DeKalb County, Indiana, September 10, 1845, Susan Beard, born in Stark County, Ohio, September 2, 1822, died in DeKalb County, Indiana, February 26, 1903, daughter of George and Elizabeth [Mowen] Beard;

[4] Julia, born _____, died at Butler, Indiana, married Henry Whetsel;

[5] Hester Ann;

[6] Sarah Jane, born _____, died at Waterloo, Indiana, married Clark Parker;

[7] Polly, born _____, died at Waterloo, Indiana, married Miles W. Bullard;

[8] Mecelia (Macelia), born _____, died at Waterloo, Indiana, married Lewis Heighes. [Mecelia Waterman appears to be her name based upon her spelling of her name as a child. She listed her name as "Mecelia" as she was also correctly listing the names of adult members of her family.]

Miles Waterman [8]. Miles Waterman was born in Onondaga County, New York, on December 22, 1818. He was raised on a farm and received a common school education. He assisted his father clearing and improving the new farm land in Indiana. From 1837 through 1848, he corresponded regularly with boyhood friends and relatives left behind in New York. In early October of 1842, Miles, age 24 years of age, returned to New York State and to those he had left behind. Perhaps he returned as a young man initially disillusioned with the stark, lonely, and desolate life on the Indiana frontier. He returned on a sailing boat on Lake Erie. Five to six inches of snow was on the ground when he arrived back in New York. Miles stayed at his Uncle Eleazar's home in Van Buren, New York. He apparently intended to stay only a short time. In late October, he planned to return to Indiana with Eleazar's son Horace Peabody Waterman, but Eleazar talked the latter out of leaving. Miles lingered in New York until the following spring. An early winter may have caused the canal to freeze unexpectedly.

Miles may have returned to New York for medical help. He was sick when he left Indiana. He saw an "old German Doctor" soon after he arrived in New York. He was diagnosed as having "nervous rheumatism." He was given medicine that didn't seem to

work. He took "a pewder every morning and a pill at night." He sent apples to Indiana and ate "plenty of apples," perhaps on the doctor's advice.

He may have returned to seek better employment. He may have returned just to see family and friends. He talks about these matters in a letter he wrote back home in Indiana on November 6, 1843.

VanBuren (New York) Nov. 6. 1843

Dear Friends.

I take the present time to write a few lines to you as I have or expect to have an opportunity to send to Fort Wayne by Eathan Peck. I do not know that my health has improved much if any since I left Indiana I am rather more fleshy than when I left. I went to see an old German Doctor in Utica [New York] he called my complaint the nervous rheumatism I do not see that his medicine does much good. Othniel started for Indiana about three weeks ago I told him to send me a paper when he got across the Lake but I have not recd any paper nor any intelligence concerning him since he left I do not know but he has had a bad time I should like to know whether he has got home or not the weather has been bad since he left and to tell the fact ever since I came here the snow has been 5 or 6 inches deep since Othniel left the ground is now covered with snow and it is cold enough to stay by the stove the weather has been so bad that I have not been about much. Our friends are all well at present I believe except Grandfather Lindsay he has had a shock of the numb palsy I have not been down in Lysander [New York] since he was sick the weather is so cold and the road are impassable Uncle Hiram has about as hard a time as usual it is thought that he will lose his place. Horace Scott has been unable to work now since I have been here he has got a swelling on his leg Nancy Waterman sends her best respects to Julia if she has any at

all she wants I should say that she is the
meanest girl I know I can say so if that will

do any good she says that she has got a sugar goose and if Julia will come out here she will give her a part of it. By present indications something will take place before long if not sooner. Horace P. Waterman and myself came very near starting for the west about a week ago I got him coaxed up to start but his father soon discouraged him I have thought some of starting with Peck but it is so late and cold that I have give it up Uncle Eleazar sends his respects to you all he wants I should say that I am at his house and that we have sometimes samp and milk and sometimes pudding and milk he wants father to write imediately the boys all live at home but Horace he works at mason work James and Horace are a going to a rinction to Isaac Pecks this evening A. R. Ware and Wm. B. Smalley are in Steuben County [New York] to work this fall I have known more sickness since I came here than in our country Mr. Buttons family at Hardscrable is all sick at present and there ar four of them dangerously if nothing happens more than common I shall be back in the Spring if I do not get into business that suits me better than I can get out thare I think a man has got to work out for money to buy land he can do better here than thare he can get as much per month and clothing does not cost near as much I want you to write as soon as you get this for I want to know if Othniel has got and what he is at write all about matters and things in _____ if you want Geo Jones to work for you that month that he was to work for me you may have him if he calculates to work it I have heard by the way of Ben Hunt that Polly was very sick when he was out there he said she was some better when he left I should like to hear from there if folks will live in Enterprise [later Hamilton, Indiana] They must take what follows I hope you have had a good time a chewing the apples that I sent to you I want you to see that Geo. Tracy does that job that I agreed with him to do if he has not done it

I find myself rather uneasy with nothing to
do I think this winter will be rather long if
I don't find something to do I shall
endeavour to find something that I can do it
is rather dull times to get any thing that I
can do if I should regain my health by Spring

I shall come out if I cannot find it
profitable to stay

You must not omit to write as soon as you receive this
I want to hear from the folks very much

Yours etc Miles Waterman

Tell John Linsday that I hope he is safely ensconced
near home and venture so far away again I don't mean
that he was homesick or uneasy nor the like of that
thing tell him that I have a plenty of apples and
things and have to take a pewder every morning and a
pill at night

So no more

Miles Waterman

After spending the winter in Onondaga County, Miles returned in 1844 to Indiana where he finally settled to become prosperous and prominent in his community. On September 10, 1845, he married Susan Beard, born in Stark County, Ohio, on September 2, 1822, the daughter of George and Elizabeth [Mowen] Beard. The Beards had been early settlers of DeKalb County. At various times during his life, he was a farmer, public official, and land speculator. At one time, he owned 330 acres in Section 17, Franklin Township, in northeastern DeKalb County. He first served as township constable and trustee. In 1845, at the age of 26 years, he was elected Auditor of DeKalb County. He served two five-year terms as auditor having been re-elected in 1850.

Waterloo, Indiana. In 1855, Miles founded Waterloo, Indiana.

"A new era began with the construction of the
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad in
1855-56. Miles Waterman, who was for several
terms a state representative in the state
legislature, had purchased a tract of land

south of Uniontown, lying on both sides of the railroad tract. On this land Miles Waterman and John Hornberger laid out the town of Waterloo, at first called Waterloo City, the acknowledgement [on the recorded plat] being taken before George Wolf, justice of the peace, March 14, 1856.[14]

In 1870, the Fort Wayne, Jackson, and Saginaw Railroad commenced operations in the western part of Waterloo. Both railroads later became part of the New York Central Railroad system. These railroads served farmers located over a relatively wide area surrounding Waterloo. Waterloo prospered and grew because of the railroads.

On the plat, the town was named Waterloo. One family story was related that Miles, because of his modesty, would not allow the town to be named after him.[15] Where did the name "Waterloo" come from? Was it an alliterative of the name Waterman? Or was it named after a famous battlefield in France? Or, as one recent commentator speculated, was it named by tavern drunks? Or was it named after the town in New York near where Miles had been born and spent his formative years?

Place Names. It is not by a coincidence that the names of places and towns in northeast Indiana also appear in the Onondaga County, New York, area and at other places near the Erie Canal. Place names in northeastern Indiana correspond with such frequency with those along the New York canal route in New York State as to compel the conclusion that the former were named after the latter and not a European town or famous person whence first came the name. Rochester, Syracuse, Steuben, DeKalb,

Warsaw, Antwerp (Ohio), Dunkirk, LaGrange, Cuba, Mexico, Waterloo, Auburn, Lafayette, Van Buren, Fulton, and others were some of the place names appearing along the canal and, not by coincidence, in the northern two tiers of Indiana counties. Miles had lived a few miles from the town of Waterloo, New York, as a boy. Given this childhood connection, his earlier demonstrated attachment to New York, and, perhaps, the seeming similarity with his name, he probably named the Indiana town after Waterloo, New York. The name of a town in northern Ohio, Michigan, northern Indiana, northern Illinois, and southern Wisconsin, which bears the same name as a town along the Erie Canal in New York, was probably named by a former New York resident who had lived in or near the town along the Canal.

Political Office. In 1856, at the age of 35 years, Miles ran for State Senator, winning in DeKalb County, but losing in the larger senatorial district comprised of DeKalb County and Steuben County.[16] He lost to Alanson Wellington Henry, a Republican, who was formerly a Whig.

In 1858, Miles was elected to a two-year term as a Representative to the Indiana General Assembly from DeKalb County.[17] A Special Session of the Fortieth Indiana General Assembly began November 20, 1858. Miles introduced House Bill No. 82 to provide for the election of one county assessor and for the appointment of deputy assessors, as needed, thereby proposing to abolish township assessors and save money. The Bill passed upon first reading, but failed to be enacted.[18]

He voted against two persons for United States Senators who were nominated by the Republicans, Know-Nothings, and Kansas Democrats. He joined other House members in signing a protest against the election because the previous General Assembly had elected a United States Senator who had been seated by the United States Senate despite accusations against him of misconduct.[19]

In the Regular Session of the Fortieth Indiana General Assembly which began January 6, 1859, and adjourned on March 7, 1859, Miles was an active legislator, notwithstanding that it was his first session and his party was not in control of the session. In 1859, the Republicans, although they were in the minority, had organized and controlled the Indiana House of Representatives receiving the support of the Know Nothings and of Democrats opposed to admitting Kansas as a slave state. Miles consistently voted with the Democrats. He also joined the Democratic minority in refusing to vote for the Republican candidates for the United States Senate.[20] He was involved in bills, reports, resolutions, or other legislative action involving county government, schools, roads, and juries. He urged more efficiency and economy in government.

Purdue University. On December 2, 1858, the legislative record reported:

> Mr. WATERMAN introduced a joint resolution (No. 2) concerning a congressional grant of lands for Agricultural Colleges in the United States, (which was passed the first reading), to the following effect:
>
> WHEREAS, A bill was passed the House of Representatives, at the last session of the Congress of the United States, making a grant

of lands to all the States of the Union, for the establishment; of Agricultural Colleges, which bill has not yet been acted on by the Senate: and, whereas, such a grant would be invaluable to the people of this State; therefore---

Be it resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to vote for and use their influence to secure the passage of the bill referred to in the foregoing preamble.

And be it further resolved, That each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, be furnished with a properly attested copy of this preamble and joint resolution.[21]

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Agriculture which reported it back proposing to strike all references to United States Senators and recommending its adoption as it may be amended. However, one James F. Harney, a Representative from Montgomery County, was opposed to "going to the General Government for aid to build up public institutions, upon the belief that we are able to take care of ourselves, and the General Government have as much as the can do to get along; and he moved to lay on the table, . . ."

Whereupon, "Mr. WATERMAN demanded the yeas and the neas, which being ordered, and taken, resulted---yeas 69, neas 22, . . ." Miles voted against the motion to lay on the table, but the record shows that, for the reason stated, ". . . the whole subject was laid on the table." The resolution did not pass during the Special Session, which adjourned December 25, 1858.[22]

In the 1859 Regular Session of the Indiana General Assembly, on January 23, 1859:

Mr. WATERMAN (by consent) introduced a joint resolution (No. 2) instructing our Senators, and requesting our Representatives in Congress, to use their influence to procure the passage of an act granting lands for Agricultural Colleges. Which [sic] bill and joint resolution were passed the first reading.[23]

No further action on the joint resolution appears to have occurred.

No other legislator is named in the Indiana legislative records as having made any effort in the General Assembly to encourage the building of an agricultural college in Indiana at the time. Although the state legislature was powerless to pass a law in the United States Congress, nevertheless its resolutions had a persuasive effect on public opinion and on the United States Senators whom the Indiana General Assembly elected.

In 1862, Congress passed the Morrill Act granting federal lands to every state establishing a public agricultural college. In the 1863 General Assembly, Miles introduced a resolution concerning "grant of land scrip for agricultural colleges." This resolution was adopted.[24]

In 1869, Purdue University was established at West Lafayette, Indiana as a land-grant college.

## X. THE CIVIL WAR POLITICIAN

Politics and the American Civil War. The migratory wave of immigrants from New England and New York shaped the political, moral, and social outlook to the west, and especially in the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The migration along the Erie Canal carried immigrants and people to the west who were opposed to the spread of slavery.

> It requires no fanciful imagination to conceive that the opening of the Erie Canal was an agency which did more than almost any other to curb the power of slavery.[1]

The outcome of the American Civil War may have been different. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois may have aligned with the Confederacy.[2] Migration through southern routes had populated the southern parts of each of these states with persons having southern ties and inclinations.

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, establishing "the territory of the United States North-West of the River Ohio," had provided, "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory."[3] The Northwest Territory included Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota.

Commerce along the canal and later the railroads, which by 1860 had moved west, aided in keeping these states in the Union. The Erie Canal, opening the Great Lakes for commerce and allowing trade to go more directly to the Atlantic rather than up the St. Lawrence River, encouraged shippers in the old Northwest to send

their goods through the Great Lakes to the Canal and New York City. The railroads, just before the Civil War, began shipping more freight eastward from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois than was shipped south down the Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi rivers. Had the canal and the rails not been available as means of transporting goods to the east, these goods probably would have gone down the Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi rivers commercially tying the old Northwest more closely with the south.[4]

Miles Waterman was a public servant during the Civil War era. Being a northern Democrat who in 1860 supported United States Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois for President against Republican Abraham Lincoln, Miles espoused the political philosophy of the Democratic party.

1860 Presidential Election. On October 9, 1860, Miles ran for DeKalb County Auditor and lost. In an election held November 6, 1860, Lincoln defeated Douglas for President, due in large part to the north-south split in the Democratic party.[5] The victory established the Republican party as a major political force in the United States. The vote in DeKalb County: Abraham Lincoln 1,500, Stephen A. Douglas 1,399, John Bell 24, and John C. Brackenridge 2.[6]

DeKalb County had voted for the Democratic presidential candidate during the period from the county's first presidential election in 1840 through 1860 with the exception of 1840 when a Whig, William Henry Harrison of Ohio, a military hero who had

defeated the Indians at the Battle of Tippecanoe near Lafayette, Indiana, "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too," defeated Martin VanBuren.[7]

In 1862 during the Civil War, Miles was elected State Representative by a good margin.[8] The war was not going well for the Union and the Republicans. The Democrats controlled the Indiana General Assembly in 1863, but Republican Governor Oliver P. Morton, elected in 1860 for four years, had established himself as a powerful governor.

1863 Indiana General Assembly. The 1863 session of the Indiana General Assembly, held midway through the Civil War, proved to be a microcosm of the political issues of concern to the North, particularly to the states of the old Northwest Territory.

> Nowhere else did the war produce greater political tensions than among the Hoosiers. Nowhere else did the people debate more violently the merits of the revolutionary social changes which the war brought about.[9]

Governor Morton provided able, enthusiastic, but arbitrary leadership in supporting the War effort. He eventually ignored the democratic legislative process, and trampled on civil liberties.

> [The struggle over wartime political issues] kept Indiana hanging on the edge of domestic violence, that made her party battles so fierce, and which, in turn, finally led to the collapse of her representative government and to the establishment of Governor Oliver P. Morton's personal dictatorship.[10]

The Democrats controlling the state legislature generally supported the prosecution of the War. They were flush with the

anticipation of a political victory in the upcoming 1864 elections due to the military blunders of the national Republican administration. Northerners were becoming war-weary. However, the Democrats soon found themselves in the unenviable political position of supporting civil liberties during wartime and criticizing state and national Republican military policies. The result was a political stalemate in Indiana over legislation and a despotic state government.

Struggle Over the Nature of the Union. What was the nature of the Union? The war was fought over this issue. Where did sovereignty reside? Was each state sovereign? If so, each state probably had the lawful right to secede. If the federal government was sovereign, should it have attempted by military means to prevent the secession of the southern states? The United States Constitution provided no clear answer.

The war broke out. The Republican and Democratic parties in the north consistently supported military means "to suppress the rebellion" and "to restore the Union." Of course, as in a democracy, there were a few dissenters, especially when the North's early military efforts were appallingly mishandled. Initially, the Lincoln administration had appeared to flounder.

On the war issue, Miles Waterman, a northern Democrat, consistently supported the views that the federal government was sovereign, that a state could not lawfully secede, that the Union should be restored, if necessary, by military means. In a press release that he issued in about 1862, he stated:

. . . I am in favor of an energetic prosecuting the present War and that all the means necessary there to be placed in the hands of those whose business it is to prosecute the same, so that as soon as possible the supremacy of the constitution, and the laws passed in furtherance thereof, may be acknowledged, and the Stars and Stripes float in pride over the length and breadth of the Union as it was before the present rebellion broke out and if it should become necessary for the Government to order a draft to accomplish so desirable a result and it should fall to my lot to shoulder arms, I will put in no plea of poor teeth, bad breath, etc., in order to procure an exemption, but will pledge that my full share of the military service shall be performed.

Miles, who was 44 years of age, did not "shoulder arms."

In 1863 in one of his more eloquent writings, Miles proclaimed the support of the Union by his political party when his party was being falsely charged with disloyal actions, by mocking the false valor of political opponents.

An effort is being made to scare the timid (a la Know Nothingism) by telling them that the said dem maj are in favor of forming a North Western confederacy, and in favor of passing a secession ordinance, etc., etc., all of which has not the least foundation, . . .

. . . let me counsel my fellow citizens against the re-enactment of Know Nothingism. This, like that, is an attempt to break up the Democratic Party, the only old, true and reliable constitutional Union party in the country, it stands as it always stood in favor of submitting to all the legal and constitutional requirements of the powers that be, and is willing to defend the Union in or out of the state, and is not like certain men who make long and loud

professions of their Unionism, but who are very careful to not bind themselves to go out of the state to defend the Union, but are very valorous in the state where there is no danger. . . .

Political Beliefs of Miles Waterman. Miles was intrepid in his political views. He was a partisan, loyally devoted to his political party. In fiscal matters, he believed that government should be run in a business-like manner. He provided strong support for preserving the Union by military means. He strongly supported the United States Constitution and state's rights. He believed in government ruled by law. He was a fervent supporter of farmers. He was suspicious of the "professions." He believed that the courts should determine the constitutionality of legislation. He was devoted to personal liberty. He was eloquent in the defense to false charges of treason and disloyalty which had been recklessly leveled against members of his party. He boldly protested against Eastern monopolistic commercial interests. He attacked protective tariffs. He was, in effect, an agrarian Jacksonian Democrat during a time of great social upheaval as competing commercial interests and political antagonists were to gain sway.

The Democratic party in the Old Northwest at the time was predominantly comprised of rural, agrarian Jacksonians. Andrew Jackson, elected President as a Democrat in 1828, had been the first "westerner" to be elected President. The Democratic party was, at the time, the established party. It was collectively referred to as "the Democracy." It was consistently opposed to the tariffs favored by the Whigs and later the Republicans. The Republicans on the other hand were comprised of a variety of factions. They were upstarts in 1860 when Lincoln was elected.

Many Republicans were engaged in commerce who were not as politically dominant as the farmers in Indiana.

Lincoln, born in 1809 in Kentucky, migrated in 1816 to southern Indiana to spent the formative years of his youth, and moved in 1830 at the age of 21 years to Illinois. He was 10 years older than Miles.

Political Issues During the Civil War. Miles believed that the sole purpose of the Civil War was to preserve the Union as it was established by the United States Constitution. Miles was persuaded, as Lincoln was initially, that the federal government lacked the constitutional authority to enforce its will in the states. It followed that it did not have the authority to abolish slavery where it already existed under the laws of several southern states. Most citizens of the north did not want to interfere with the south's "peculiar institution," but they were against allowing slavery to expand into the new western territories or into their state.

"Abolitionists," who were for the most part a small faction within the Republican party, argued that freeing the slaves should be one of the war's goals. Most people in Indiana considered abolitionists to be "cranks."[11] For the north to have a secondary war purpose to abolish slavery, a purpose which did not have popular support, arguably would have diluted the political will of the north to pursue the war effort to preserve the Union.

Miles was also opposed to a proposal to tax the North to pay southern slave owners for the emancipation of slaves. Miles offered a joint resolution "instructing Senators and requesting Representatives to oppose [a] compensated emancipation scheme."[12] The resolution was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations and does not appear to have been voted upon.

How could reasonable persons resolve these political differences on the issue of slavery? Lincoln, in his "house divided" speech given in 1858, denied any intention of interfering with slavery in the south. In 1860 in Indiana, both the Republican party and the Democratic party in their platforms supported the idea that the primary purpose of the war was to preserve the Union, not to abolish slavery.[13] At the beginning of the war in April 1860, both houses of the Indiana General Assembly asserted that the war was not an assault upon the "institution of slavery or any other constitutional right belonging to any of the states."[14]

As the war continued, the concept evolved that Lincoln, in his constitutional role as commander-in-chief, could emancipate the slaves in states rebellious to the Union as part of the war effort, thereby avoiding the concept that the federal government did not have the legislative authority to interfere with a legal institution established by a state. Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation was issued on September 22, 1862, as a war measure. As any other war measure, it was worthless until it could be carried into effect. It was not until after the war

that slavery as an institution was legally abolished by the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Miles, as Douglas and Lincoln, appeared to be neither abolitionist nor proslavery. Whether Miles considered slavery reprehensible is not known. Most people in northeastern Indiana were against the spread of slavery. Miles' political position on slavery, examined in the context of his times, reflected the mainstream political thinking of northern Democrats and Republicans. Only a small minority urged the freeing of slaves. In Miles' known writings, there are no demagogic appeals to racism, as was common for several political leaders in the Democratic party at the time. In his writings, there are no racial slurs or derogatory remarks about African Americans. There is no evidence that he feared an influx of freed slaves. Many Hoosiers, especially those who lived in southern Indiana along the Ohio River, felt that freed slaves as they migrated north would be an economic burden or would compete economically for jobs.

Miles' charges against his adversaries, especially during heated political skirmishes in 1863, were carefully worded and well crafted so as to avoid unwarranted allegations. When he was accused of calling the "whole Union [Republican] Party to be abolitionists," the latter word being a defamatory slur at the time, he specifically denied making any such statement.[15] His written newspaper "releases" before the Civil War were written

urging the parochial concerns of his rural, agrarian circumstance. As the war got under way, with the attendant rise of human emotion and political involvement, Miles' use of rhetoric and language matures and becomes more eloquent. Except for his position on slavery, his position on the great issues facing his country and state became more sublime, more enlightened, less parochial. One senses from his written remarks that the DeKalb County politician matured politically during the conflict and enjoyed the verbal exchanges of heated democracy.

Prior to 1863, Miles as a legislator was never in the legislative majority, and was unable to effectively influence legislation. In 1863, the Democrats were on top. Republican military blunders seemed to ensure an upcoming Democratic victory at the polls in 1864. Even Lincoln assumed his own defeat. But, as northern military fortunes changed with battlefield victories increasing, the Democratic fortunes began to wane.

Wartime Constitutional Rights. In no other area of political concern is the stance of Miles more courageous than his defense of personal liberties and political rights in the midst of wartime fervor. In September 1862, President Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus for persons charged with disloyal practices and subjected them to the arbitrary processes of military law.[16] This caused a ripple effect in the states whose Governors took further license with political rights. Miles voted in the 1863 legislative session with the Democratic

majority in a vote of 58 to 30 to support a resolution condemning summary arrests:

> Whereas, Many citizens of this State had been arrested . . . and had been confined in military prisons, or camps, without any public charge being preferred against them, and without any opportunity being allowed them to learn or disprove the charges made, or alleged to be made, against them, and refused a trial.
>
> * * *
>
> And Whereas, It is a sacred right, guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitution of our common country, that he shall not be deprived of his liberty unless by due process of law, and when arrested shall have a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury -- be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation -- and be confronted by the witnesses against him; therefore,
>
> Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, do hereby denounce and condemn all such arrests as acts of tyranny, a flagrant violation of the rights of the people, as unwarranted by the laws and Constitution under which we live, and do hereby demand that all such arrests shall hereafter cease.[17]

In a press release issued shortly after the close of the 1863 session, Miles reported that the Republican leader of the House had "stated that emissaries of Jeff Davis [the Confederate president] had been at Indianapolis in consultation with certain Democratic members of the Legislature, and when a committee was appointed to investigate the affair, he [the House Republican leader], refused to appear before said committee and testify. In this way, all the charges against the Democrats of treason and

disloyal practices vanished into thin air and proved to be nothing. . . ."

Miles continued:

> There were certain measures the majority believed the people decided in favor of at the election last fall, and believing so, they were in favor of passing said measures but did not propose to pass what they believed to be unconstitutional laws, but were willing that the proper tribunals -- the Supreme Court -- should pass upon that point, and abide the result.

Miles, as well as most other Democratic politicians in Indiana, were not "peace Democrats."

> Most of the peace Democrats of 1863-64 called for an armistice and a renewed attempt to restore the Union through a sectional compromise. A small handful of them questioned the value of a Union held together with bayonets and claimed the War was destroying democracy and threatening a military despotism. To them a temporary dissolution of the Union was a small price to pay for peace and for the hope that voluntary reunion would eventually come. Republicans, for partisan reasons, attached the pejorative term 'Copperhead' to all peace Democrats, suggesting that they were 'rebel sympathizers' who, at the very least, flirted with treason. In the heat of the political campaign of 1864 Republicans were prone to stigmatize all Democrats as Copperheads, even though the great majority of Democrats continued to support the War for the Union.[18]

Sensing political loss, the Indiana Republicans in desperation in 1864 described Democrats as cheering for Confederate President Jeff Davis, glowing over Union military losses, plotting to discourage enlistments, and not in sympathy with the plight of the soldiers.



The Democrats' cry for free speech when criticizing the Republican administration's war effort was labeled by Republicans as "a sanctified cloak for treason."[19] During the latter years of the War, when victory seemed to be slipping away, Governor Morton, and other Republicans, stigmatized all Democrats in the legislature, even those in loyal opposition, as "Copperheads" or "rebel sympathizers" of questionable "loyalty." In fact, only a

handful of Democrats could accurately be characterized as Copperheads who were demanding a negotiated settlement of the war.

The governor set in motion in Indianapolis courts-martial for the purpose of trying and executing certain Democrats as "traitors." The penalty for treason was death. This action by the governor must have had a disquieting, if not a terrifying effect upon those Democratic politicians such as Miles Waterman who supported the effort to restore the Union by military means. In 1866 after the Civil War ended, the Supreme Court of the United States, in a landmark decision of constitutional proportions, overturned the conviction of a court-martial in Indianapolis arising out of the Civil War holding that courts-martial are without jurisdiction to try civilians in areas remote from the actual theater of war when the civil courts are open.[20]

## XI. A CIVIL WAR SOLDIER'S ODYSSEY

Frederick C. Waterman [9]. Frederick C. Waterman was born on August 27, 1841, at New York Mills, Oneida County, New York, to Othniel and Mary Gambia Waterman. Two years later, Fred moved with his parents to Steuben County, Indiana, where he lived until moving with his parents and siblings to Wisconsin in 1849.

> Frederick C. Waterman, section 8, Smithfield Township [DeKalb County], a son of Othniel and grandson of Elijah Waterman. His grandfather settled on section 30, Franklin Township, De Kalb County in 1837, and resided there till his death in 1863 [sic]. His father, Othniel Waterman, settled on section 9, Smithfield Township in 1840, but about 1843 [sic] moved to Steuben County. . . .[1]

Othniel resided with Mary, his wife, in 1840 in New York Mills, New York. He visited his father, Elijah, and his brother Miles in Indiana in 1840, where he purchased land in Smithfield Township, in northeastern DeKalb County, Indiana. In 1843, he brought his family from New York to Indiana where he worked for his father-in-law, Sidney P. Gambia near Hamilton, Steuben County, Indiana, In 1849, Othniel became estranged from his father-in-law and removed his family to Wisconsin.

> . . . and from there two years [sic] later to Milwaukee, Wis.; then thence to Waukesha County, Wis., and from there to Fox Lake, Dodge County, and thence to Tomah, Monroe County. He engaged in the lumber business north of Tomah, till 1868, and then bought a farm near town, where he lived till his death in the fall of 1882. The mother, Mary (Gambia) Waterman, still resides on the homestead [1885]. Of their six children but

three are living—Frederick; Alice, wife of Mervin Jones, of Monroe County, Wis.; and Charles, a conductor on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad. Frederick was born in New York Mills, Oneida Co., N. Y., Aug. 26 [sic], 1841. He remained with his parents till the breaking out of the Rebellion, when, May 11, 1861, he enlisted in the Second Wisconsin Infantry, which was a part of the famous Iron Brigade of Wisconsin.[2]

Coming Hostilities. Three and one-half months before the Civil War started, Fred, while living in Fox Lake, Wisconsin, anticipated the coming hostilities in a letter of January 27, 1861, written to his Grandfather, Elijah Waterman, in Indiana.

I have been going to Normal School in the Wisconsin Female College, it is connected with the College, we have had from fifty to sixty young gentleman and about ninety Ladies, and I think we have about as good a school as they have in the State, . . .

I wish you was out here you would enjoy yourself so well I know we have sociables or mite societies for the benefit of the Churches, for the Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist & we have a sundy Scholl Teachers meeting for the benefit of the Sundy School Teachers . . . .

We have also a Good Templar Lodge, of which I have been a member for the past two years.

Our Military Company is to have there first Anniversary party on the 22nd of Febuary [1861] Washingtons birth Day when all the Members of the Company is to Dance in there Uniforms, tell Myles & James & Lewis that I have my musket and uniform at home all brightened up ready to go to South Carolina. . . .

. . . (W)hen you see Charly Danks or Ellen tell them that we would like to hear from them, . . .[3]

Mother says tell Grandfather to come out here and stay the rest of the winter with us and he shall enjoy himself, Charley is to work for Mr Hardy the man that runs the Passenger Car on the Fox Lake R. R. I suppose father has told you about the land, he has about 80 or 90 acres of which 15 is under plow and 20 fenced and a small house on it he says it is as pretty a place as he wants to live in it is almost all prairie. . . .

Abraham Lincoln. On February 23, 1861, President-elect Abraham Lincoln arrived secretly in Washington by way of Baltimore to take office as a plot to assassinate him in Baltimore was foiled.[4] On April 12, 1861, United States Fort Sumpter in the harbor at Charleston, South Carolina, was fired upon by southern secessionist troops. Faced with overpowering odds, the fort surrendered. On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued his first summons for the state militia.[5]

Second Wisconsin Volunteers. Four days later, Fred, age 19 years, volunteered with other men from Dodge County, Wisconsin. The unit was organized locally as The Citizen's Guard.[6] The volunteers from Dodge County were mustered in on June 11, 1861, as Company A of the Second Wisconsin Volunteers, also referred to as the "2nd Regiment Wisconsin Infantry," at Camp Randall in Madison, Wisconsin.[7] The Second Wisconsin traveled east on the railroad by way of Chicago, Toledo, Cleveland, Pittsburg, and Baltimore arriving in Washington on June 25.[8]

On July 16, 1861, the war began for the Second Wisconsin, which was a part of a brigade commanded by Brigadier General William Tecumseh Sherman. Marching out of the Washington area in a southwesterly direction and crossing Bull Run creek north of

the Stone Bridge, the Second Wisconsin was first regiment to be sent forward by Sherman in a series of assaults, which were repulsed twice, and then it withdrew across Bull Run. Twenty-three men of the Second Wisconsin had been fatally wounded.[9]

Bull Run. Othniel Waterman wrote to his brother, Miles, referring to the Battle of Bull Run that occurred on July 21, 1861.

Fox Lake March 9th /62

Dear Brother

I received your letter
inquiring after the Money you sent by Express
After I received the Money as sent by Express
I Neglected to Wright as I had aught I was
so busy at Worke we are all well that is all
that is at holm we received a letter from
Fred last weeke he was well tho Charles has
not left the State Yet his Company is
Expecting to leave next weeke Fred had a
Great time at Bulls Runn and I guess he runn
as fast as Any of them I guess Not as soon
as some of the officers we have Not been
able to learn from him any thing Verry
Peticular About the Affare And whether he
could tell us any thing I Can Not tell the
first letter that he rate after the Battle
was the first received from Any of the
Company after the battle it took Me 2 hours
after I took it out of the office befor I
could Get holm with it it was red to croud s
and through the day it went 2 Miles to Be red
and the next day it was Printed in the Paper
he is very attentive to writing Proffesser
Goldthwaite of the Collage Got A Letter from
him last friday he was then Well I Canat
wright any Mor to day I will say we hav had
A Plenty of snow and it is in a fare way to
Go after it rained last Night and the wing is
blowing from the South You Must wright to
Fred his Address is F.C. Waterman
Co. A, 2 Wis. Regt of Vol
Washington
DC

O Waterman
I will send you the
last Milwaukee News

95

Fred was injured in his lower back during the withdrawal of Union forces from the battlefield at Bull Run. His commander, Captain William W. Jones, Company A, 2d Wisconsin, later referring to this injury, stated:

> I remember that in July, 1862 [a year after the battle], while we were guarding a Rail Road running from Aquia Creek to Fredericksburg, Va. that Waterman complained somewhat of his back hurting him and loosened his cartridge belt while on duty. I remember Gen. [Irvin] McDowell happened to be passing and reprimanded him for his unsoldierly appearance.[11]

Ascension General Hospital, Washington, D.C. In August of 1862, Fred was reported sick in the Ascension Church Hospital; later he was at Steuart's Mansion General Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland. Apparently his sickness was due to overexertion after "long and rapid Marches to the relief of the Army under General Pope at Slaughter Mountain [Cedar Mountain?] Va."[12]

Iron Brigade. On October 1, 1861, the Second Wisconsin together with the Sixth Wisconsin, the Nineteenth Indiana, and the Seventh Wisconsin constituted a brigade that became known as the "Iron Brigade." The Twenty-fourth Michigan was added a year later. In the East, the members of the Iron Brigade were referred to as "Westerners" since most of the other soldiers with whom the fought were from eastern states.

Fredericksburg. The Iron Brigade, having participated in the Battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia, December 12-15, 1862, arrived at Belle Plain, Virginia, on December 23, 1862, to camp

for the winter months. On February 15, 1863, Fred's unit returned to Belle Plain after an expedition. The next day, Fred described the expedition in a letter written to Elijah Waterman, his grandfather in Indiana.

Camp of 2nd Wis. Vols. on the
Potomac near "Belle Plain" Landing, Va.
Feb. 16th 1863

Dear Grandfather

Hearing by way of Home that you had been sick, & that Father had been to see you, & as I had your correct Address, I thought that I would write you a letter or rather attempt to, for I am not very well myself, for we have just come from off a cruise & I was completely "tuckered" out, & we had such a time that I must tell you about it,

[Expedition on the steamer "Alice Price" from Belle Plain down the Potomac River to the Coan River, Heathsville, Nomini Bay, and the Mattox River February 12-15]

On Wednesday of last week in the night about 1 o'clock, We had the Order to be ready to march at 15 minutes notice, & we had to get up in the night & make coffee & get ready to march, this order came on Tuesday night instead of Wednesday night, & after we had got all ready we did not go till the next Thursday afternoon at 1 o'clock, when we went down to the Landing at Potomac creek, that is 10 miles from Aquia Creek Landing, & our Rg't, with the 6th Wis. Rg't, got on board the steamer "Alice Price" & then we were very comfortably ensconced in the boat off we started down the Potomac, a part of the 1,000 of the best men that was in the 1st Corps de Armee & our Rg't, the 6th Wis., & 7th Indiana Rg't, but for some unknown cause or another the 7th Boy's, did not go, we went down to the mouth of the Potomac (70 miles) & run into a little river called Cone [Coan] river, & there was a sort of a Landing there for Oysters Smacks, before the War broke out but

the Gov't, don't allow them to have any
boats, of any size to speak of, except the
fishermen little boats, that would hold 2
persons, up from the Landing in the River

there was a small schooner scuttled & sunk, the water over her upper decks, the cause of the order being issued, relative to our going down there was that our Division Gen, (Wadsworth) heard that on this day (the day that we got there) the Rebs, was to be there after a lot of Conscripts, & the Secesh folks in the town of Heathsville, the place where we went had everything prepared to give the Reb Officers a good feast, expecting to be well paid for it in confederate script, for they would not take our money they said that it was of no use to them, and we stacked arms up in the town & proceeded to eat very quietly of the Ham, Eggs & oysters & good Hoecake that was for the "Noble"confederates, after we had had our fill, (for we went on the principle that "if thine enemy hunger, feed him," & "if he thirst give him drink," then we went down to the Landing & in the morning scouting parties were sent out, & they had orders to capture everything that would benefit the Rebs, & by night the Hams & shoulders & Bacon, some of the very best was coming in to camp, in carts & the con-trabands[13] also & by the next morning we had a considerable number of Horses & mules (28 mules & 9 Horses) & then 30 of the Boy's of our Rg'ts. (privates) and one Commissioned Officer was sent across the country back to camp, and they just got in to night - (Monday night) for they had 40 more Horses & mules besides those they started with making a pretty good trip We stayed till the next day about 2 o'clock & we started off with all of the best Horses & mules that we could put on board the steamer & we had captured 60 close to the Landing Horses & mules & 14,000 thousand lbs. of Hams & Bacon & two Bales of Cotton & one case of Boots, & 70 or 80 contrabands, & the steamer was so loaded down that the first day we started out there was more water came in the Port-holes than could be pumped out & we had to run up in a cove on the Maryland shore & anchor until the wind

went down, for we were just opposite Point Lookout, & the Potomac is 14 miles wide just there & the wind blew from the N.E. & the swells came in pretty high, but we got in all safe & sound[14]

[Guard Duty]

& now tomorrow morning we have to go on
Picket our Rg't. is only called on for 125
men, & our Orderly, had a call for 18
privates 4 non-commissioned Officers, & he
said that he could not get them so you can
see By one Co. that numbered 100 men all
for duty when we left the state has come to,
and you can judge how the Rg't. - has been
used,

but Father was telling me that Arad Lindsay[15]
was in the Michigan Rg't. & I am not sure in
which will you please to tell me which one &
perhaps I can see him and tell him all about
the folks generally & how Charley Danx is &
his sister[16] for I have not heard from them
for a long time & if you see him you can give
him my address, but I have got tired & as I
can think of nothing more to write I must
close hoping to hear from you soon I remain
your unworthy but affectionate Grand-son.
Frederick C. Waterman
P.S. Please excuse the little mistakes F.

Direct

F.C. Waterman
Co. A, 2nd Wis. Vols.
Washington
D.C.

N.B. Give my love to all of Uncle John's
folks & Aunt Julia & Sarah Jane & to Uncle
Mile's folks & tell James & Miles that I
would like to have them write to me, and
oblige
Fred

Belle Plain. Belle Plain, Virginia, is located at the confluence of the Potomac Creek and the Potomac River. The Iron Brigade camped about two miles south on the Potomac River.[17] By 1863, the North was beginning to express frustration over the progress of the war. Othniel was disheartened as he wrote to his father Elijah.

Fox Lake

March 1st 1863

Dear Father,
I ment to hav written to you before
but have been very Negligent I arived at
Chicago at ten Oclock at Night and left at
half Past 1 Oclock I see that I should have
to be detained all of the next day and I
should not get any from them till the next
night. I ment to have seen Charley but I
could not spare the time Mary has been sick
every cince I came holm there was three or
four days she was very sick with a fever she
is better so that she went to Church to day
the Weather is Pleasant but O how Muddy under
foot there is a smart chance of sickness here
there has been quite a Good Many Desks in the
Place Mostly Children we received A letter
from Fred last Friday he is well we Just
lernt that he had a severe fit of sickness
last summer and that he was Crazy for three
or four days he never said a word about it to
us only in his last letter he is getting
sick of Souldering, I hope that there will be
helpe sent soon to help the boys put down
this accursed rebelion and I hope that those
that have Preached and have urged on this
Wilde Fanatisism will have to do something
towards quelling the rebelion there is no
News of importance tell Polly to send word
to Fred Regt that Arad Lindsay belongs to and
wright to me and I will tell him I Want you
to wright as soon as you get this and let me
know how Father gets along Give My Respects
to all
Yours Truly
O. Waterman
To E Waterman

Chancellorsville. After the Chancellorsville campaign, April 27 through May 6, and the operations on Northern Neck in Virginia, May 20 through May 26, Fred had participated in 12

battles. On May 30, 1863, Fred wrote a letter to his uncle, Miles Waterman, in Indiana, describing his experiences while on

the expedition "down on" the Northern Neck (of land) in eastern Virginia.

Camp near "Bell Plain" Va.
May 30th 1863

Dear Uncle

I thought that I would write you a letter this afternoon, it is very warm & sultry weather here at present,

[Review of the Army]

this morning we had a Review of our Corps de Armee, it is the 1st Army Corps, Maj Gen. Reynolds, & we were reviewed by him & Maj Gen Doubleday together with numerous Brigadiers, there is about 10,000 in our Corps at present, that is as many as was on Review this morning I heard it said, we had a good many more but that is caused by having so many 2 years & 9 months me(n) going home their time being out,[18] & it is very currently reported that the 1st Army Corps is going to be relieved by the 8th & that we are going to Maryland Heights to take their place, how true I do not know, but I shall be very glad if we do, & I do think that it is no more than fair, for ever since we have

been from the State or in service (2 years the 7th of June) we have been on the front, & doing active duty the whole of the time,

[Chancellorsville]

our Rg't. has been in 11 battles besides the last fight that we had at Chancellor[s]ville, when our Brigade the Iron Brigade) composed of the 2d 6th & 7th Wis. Rg't's & 19th Ind. Vols) crossed on the Left of the Army (below Fredericksburg) & drove the Rebels out of Earthworks on the bank & captured 267 prisoners & the(n) recrossed & marched to the United States Ford & went to the extreme right,[19] & now today our Rg't, has 240 muskets for duty out of 1040 that we came from the State with, & it is about the same with the rest of the Rgts. in our Brigade, altho' they have not been in as long as our Rg't. has,

[Northern Neck Expedition]

We have just returned from an expedition down on the Northern Neck, as it is called a strip of land that lies between the Potomac & the Rappahannock, we are now in Stafford & we went down as far as 5 miles below Westmorland Court House, the object of the Expedition was to releave the 8th Ill. Cavalry (Col. Farnsworth) who had went down some 3 or 4 day's before & it was reported that there was a body of Reb Cavalry had crossed the Rappahannock to capture them, (they went down to catch stergglers and to catch contraband goods that were being smuggled across from the Potomac) we had to march like the Dickens, you will think so when I tell you that we started at 5 oclock & at 15 minutes past 12 we were at King George Court House, 93 miles from our camp, here we stopped & got our dinner & here there was a large number of men that had to stay they could go no farther, some men that had never before "fallen out" it was so hot that the sweat just rolled off of us, we rested about an hour & then went on only 9 miles farther that

afternoon on account of the heat, the next day we marched very hard again & at night out of 29 men that our Co. started with we had 13 left & it was so with all of the Rg'ts, but then they came handy for we had to have a guard & those that could go no further had to do the duty for we had to go ahead

[Freed Slaves]

& when we got 5 miles below Westmorland Cour House, there came in an Orderlie from Cal. F (8th Illinois Cavalry Company F) & we halted & in a little while in they came, they had about 1,000 Darkies male & females, some on horse back & others riding in wagons that they had captured, & they were a jolly set, the smartest set of negroes that I have seen,[20] while down there we captured a Lieut Col. of the 19th Va. Rg't, who was home on account of the death of one of his children,[21] we got back all safe & sound the 6th day after starting,[22]

[Guard Duty on the Rappahannock River]

& the Order came from Gen Reynolds, to Col's
of the different Rg'ts that were down there
for their commands not to do any duty for a
day or two unless there was some order from
besides any he would give, & it has been 3
days & we done the first this morning, We
have to go on Picket (a soldier or group of
soldiers on guard duty) down to the
Rappahannock & we have a jolly time with the
rebs who are only a stones throw distant, (on
the other banks) the last time that we were
down the 19th Georgia (Reb) & the 26th
Alabama, was opposite us doing duty, & they
are a very fine set of men to those we are
used to having, in our front on Picket, that
is some of the S. Carolina & Louisiana
troops,

[Trading With The Enemy]

our boy's traded coffee & sugar, Pipes, &
jack knives, & Papers, one of the boy of our
Co. swam across & had a quite a chat with the
Lieut & Maj in command of their Pickets, they
will give any price for coffee & such
articles as they cannot get very handily in
their army, most all of the time we were on
Picket they were fishing & lounging around
without either cartridge Box on or gun in
their hand, & a more dirty & ragged set of
fellows you never saw, in your life[23]

[General "Stonewall" Jackson's Accidental Fatal Shooting by his Own Men]

our Boys bothers them about their shooting Jackson, they say that he was not much of a General, but they don't say much about it, only when our boys taunts them about it,[24]

but Uncle [Miles] I have written more than I expected to, when I began & I must close please excuse all errors, - Give my love to Aunt [Susan] & all of the rest & oblige.

Fred. Waterman

N.S. My folks were all well when I last heard from them a day or to ago, when you write Uncle tell me all about Grandfather's folks, also whether it is the 27th Mich. that Arad Lindsay is in

Fred.

Gettysburg. One month after Fred wrote the preceding letter, the Iron Brigade made its "last stand" in McPherson's Woods and on Seminary Ridge on July 1, 1863, the first day of the battle at Gettysburg. Sixty-five percent of the members of the Iron Brigade were casualties. The Second Wisconsin regiment lost 77 percent of its members as casualties.

> The Field over which we fought from our first battle line in McPherson's woods to the barricade near the seminary was strewn with the killed and wounded.[25]

Historians will continue to debate the decisiveness of the three-day Battle at Gettysburg. Generally, it is considered to mark the beginning of the end of the South's military effort. The outcome of the three-day struggle had drained General Robert E. Lee's army of its offensive power. Many will argue that the turning point of the Battle was the Union's repulse of Pickett's Charge on the third day of the battle, but historian Alan T. Nolan opines, except for the federal effort on the first day of the battle when the Iron Brigade fought a holding action allowing the federal army to assemble, that the result of the battle at Gettysburg might have been otherwise.[26]

> And for at least one hundred years, the word Gettysburg was to have a unique meaning for Americans, rivaled only by two other names, Lexington and Concord, where the American story began. The Brigade from the Old Northwest had been there, and there it had made its final stand.[27]

As a unit, the Iron Brigade had fought twenty-seven continuous months; its days were over. Fred was a survivor; with other survivors, he went on to fight as a soldier in most of the remaining major battles in the East until the surrender of General Lee.

Volunteer Re-Enlistment. On February 25, 1864, Fred re-enlisted at the County of Culpepper, Virginia, for three more years. The extant document of his re-enlistment reads:

VOLUNTEER ENLISTMENT

I, Frederick C. Waterman, born in _____

___ in the State of New York aged twenty two years, and by occupation a Printer DO HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGE to have volunteered this twenty-fifth day of February 1864, to serve as a Soldier in the Army of the United States of America, for a period of THREE YEARS, unless sooner discharged by proper authority: Do also agree to accept such bounty, pay, rations, and clothing, as are, or may be established by law for volunteers. And, I, Frederick C. Waterman, do solemnly swear, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and that I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies or opposers whomsoever; and that I will observe and obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to the Rules and Articles of War.

Sworn and subscribed to, at Culpeper, Va
this 25th day of February 1864
BEFORE Reuben Ash
1st Lt 2nd Wis Vols

/s/ Frederick C. Waterman

Mustered into the service of the United States in Company A, 2nd Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers on the 27th day of February 1864, at Culpeper Va

On March 16, 1864, Fred was "absence with leave" for 35 days "as a veteran volunteer;" the leave and title were given to those who re-enlisted.[28] On June 11, 1864, with less than 100 men and with the expiration of the regiment's 3-year term, the "Second Wisconsin Volunteers" ceased to exist as a unit.[29]
A history of DeKalb County, Indiana, published in 1885, twenty years after the war's end, contains a brief summary of part of the war record of Frederick C. Waterman.

> He participated in the first battle at Bull Run, July 21, 1861, Gainesville, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and on the first day of the battle of Gettysburg, was taken prisoner, but was paroled by General Early the same evening. However, instead of being allowed to report immediately at parole camp, he was required to assist in taking care of the wounded. He rejoined his regiment at Bristow's Station, a few days later, and subsequently participated in the battles of the Wilderness, Cold Harbor, North Anna; was forty-two days in the trenches before Petersburg; was at Five Forks, and Appomattox at the surrender of General Lee.[30]

Appomattox Court House. On April 9, 1865, General Lee surrendered the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia to Union General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. In Appendix C, a month-by-month muster list, together with

the "Regimental History" of the Second Wisconsin, reveals that Fred participated in more battles and other action than this brief narrative mentions. During the entire war, the Iron Brigade suffered 1,131 deaths, second in deaths only to the 1,172 deaths of the First Vermont Brigade. The Second Wisconsin had a

total strength of 1,200, battle deaths of 238, disease deaths 80, total deaths 318, for a total percent of deaths of 26.5 percent.[31]

> In 1861 the Second Wisconsin had been the first three years' regiment to reach Washington. Thereafter, it had established a combat record that no Federal regiment would surpass. Indeed, the Second was to sustain the greatest percentage of loss of any regiment in the Union armies.[32]

On April 14, 1865, United States troops accepted the surrender and return of United States Fort Sumpter symbolizing the end of the war. On that evening President Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theatre in Washington.[33] On May 23, Fred was in the Grand Review in Washington, D.C. On July 14, he was mustered out at Jeffersonville, Indiana, after having participated in a victory parade south across the Ohio River in Louisville, Kentucky.

The travels of Frederick C. Waterman as a Civil War soldier constituted an American odyssey.

> After the close of the war he [Fred] returned to Wisconsin, and worked at his trade (printer) in Milwaukee a short time;

then returned home and assisted his father for sometime, and subsequently went to Walworth County, Wisconsin, where he engaged in farming till 1870, when he moved to DeKalb County, Ind. where he has since lived. He owns eighty acres of good land on section 8, which formerly belonged to George Brunner. Mr. Waterman was married to Ellen, daughter of Orris Danks. They have two sons--Herbert and Orris O.[34]

Fred married Ellen Danks at Waterloo on May 2, 1867.[35] He was a Methodist, and served as Justice of the Peace from 1882 to

1894.[36] He had a great deal of difficulty persuading the federal government to give him as much of a pension as he thought he deserved in old age.[37] Fred died on October 7, 1913, at Waterloo, Indiana, and he is buried in the cemetery at Waterloo.[38]

Drums & Fifes. On July 15, 1865, the Sixth Wisconsin returned to Madison, Wisconsin, following the victory parade at Louisville for the last ceremony on the capitol grounds. At the conclusion of the ceremonies:

> . . . the words of command were given; the bronzed veterans wheeled to the right; drums and fifes struck up their stormy music, and with guns at 'right shoulder shift,' and bayonets gleaming in the slant sunbeams, under the green arches of the summer trees, the last organized fragments of the old Iron Brigade of the army of the Potomac, bearing the rent and shot torn banners, on which are inscribed the names of [the battles of] Gettysburg, The Wilderness, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Weldon Railroad, Hatcher's Run and Five Forks, passed on; to dissolve and disappear from men's eyes forever, but to live immortal in history and in the memory of

a grateful people.[39]

## XII. OUT IN THE POLITICAL COLD

Governor Oliver P. Morton. Even though there was much to fault Governor Morton on the civil liberties issues, he proved to be a strong and able wartime governor, and President Lincoln's strategies proved to be successful.

The goal of the Confederacy in the latter years of the war was to survive until the Union gave up in despair. But the Union's military successes, especially General William T. Sherman's capture of Atlanta, insured a Republican victory at the polls in late 1864, and the defeat of the South became certain. And so it was in Indiana where the Union's military victories resulted in Republican election victories. In DeKalb County, Lincoln's margin of victory over General George B. McClellan for re-election in 1864 was 12 votes. The oratory of the few "Peace Democrats" and the Republican governor's rhetoric of disloyalty charges leveled indiscriminately against all Democrats were important ingredients for a Republican ascendancy in Indiana following the war. Thereafter, Miles and the Democrats were out in the political cold for years. One can only surmise the melancholy of Miles as he realized that his long and varied career as a civil servant had ended.

The Union Preserved. The Union was preserved. Sovereignty

resided in the national government, not the states. Lincoln set a precedent for strong presidential leadership in a time of national crisis. Slavery, as an institution, was abolished. Our

nation fought a gigantic war under the Constitution without significantly jeopardizing the basic rights of citizens. The military effort had resolved those issues on which politics had failed. On May 10, 1869, the first transcontinental railroad in the United States was completed. This event seemed to symbolize the unification of a new sprawling nation.

Thomas A. Hendricks. Thomas A[ndrews] Hendricks, born near Zionsville, Ohio, in 1819, was a contemporary of Miles. A popular and respected leader, Hendricks upheld the Democratic Party in Indiana and its standard during the Civil War to preserve the Union. Admitted to the bar in 1843, he began his public career as a State Representative in 1848. From 1851 to 1855, he was a Congressman. In 1863, he opened a law office in Indianapolis, which has become the oldest and largest law firm in Indiana.[1]

In 1863, Miles voted with the Democratic majority of the members of the Indiana Senate and House of Representatives in a vote of 85 to 61 to elect Hendricks as a United States Senator from the State of Indiana for a term of six years.[2] In 1872, Thomas A. Hendricks was elected Governor of Indiana, and in so doing became the first Democrat in a northern state to be elected Governor after the Civil War. In 1884, he was elected Vice President of the United States with President Grover Cleveland.

Hendricks died in Indianapolis in 1885 less than nine months after his inauguration.[3]

Miles did not run for office again until 1874 when he was 55 years of age. He was elected State Representative by one vote over Edward H. Saylor. After a two-year term from 1875 to 1876, he did not run for public office again.

Children of Miles and Susan [Beard] Waterman. Five children were born to Miles Waterman and Susan [Beard] Waterman:

[1] Jasper Marion, born November 28, 1847, died 1938, buried Waterloo cemetery, married Florence Taylor, born 1853, at Waterloo, Indiana, buried Waterloo, Indiana, cemetery.

[2] Oliver Perry (twin), born July 11, 1850, died February 29, 1880, at 29 years of age, and was buried Hamilton, Indiana, cemetery.

[3] Olive Cordelia (twin), born July 11, 1850, died July 19, 1935, married John Stoner Jackman, born September 1, 1849, died May 19, 1907, both are buried at Waterloo, Indiana.

[4] Miles Jefferson, born April 5, 1856, died September 2, 1942, buried Hamilton cemetery. He married Adaline "Addie" Leas,[4] who was born April 29, 1860. Adeline died April 5, 1931, and buried at Hamilton, Indiana.

[5] Emma Amanda, born February 23, 1862.

Miles Waterman died at 77 years of age on January 23, 1896, in DeKalb County. Susan died at 80 years of age in DeKalb County on February 26, 1903. Miles and Susan are buried in the cemetery at Hamilton. Their grave markers consist of three, a large granite stone bearing only the family surname Waterman, flanked by two smaller stones which read:

| SUSAN | MILES |
|---|---|
| WATERMAN | WATERMAN |
| 1822 - 1903 | 1818 - 1896[5] |

In February 1896, a month after the death of his father,

Miles Jefferson Waterman [9], age 39 years, in an extant note

listed his ancestors. He wrote of the most remote of his known ancestors: "My Great Grandfather's name was Calvin Waterman who was a native of Massachusetts [sic] and served in the Revolution."

112

# EPILOGUE

I end my story with the death in Indiana of Miles in 1896.

Since then, the life of one of his children, my grandfather, Miles Jefferson Waterman [9], and that of his wife, Adeline [Leas] Waterman [9], were clearly patterned after that of their predecessors. One of their children, my Dad, Jefferson Wayne Waterman [10], wrenched himself from the rural life of his ancestors, migrated to college and city, where, together with his wife, my Mom, Edith Ella [Edwards] Waterman [10], they established a settlement in a "New World" for their posterity.

# APPENDIX A

## A Small Tin Box

To Jeff and John:

Our Waterman family history is a tale stretching from an

early settlement in the New World through several historical periods in the life of our Nation. It is a story I hope you will cherish and pass on to future generations. This story is not only my effort to organize and convey in a meaningful manner information contained in the family documents with which I was entrusted, but also to add information I have compiled. The writing of this story has been an ongoing interest of mine since my late teenage years.

In about 1954, my father, mother, sister, and I were

visiting at the Waterloo, Indiana, home of my Uncle Otto Waterman [10] and Aunt Belle Waterman [10], as we often did. Uncle Otto was Dad's older brother and confidant. Since the Otto Watermans had no children and since my grandparents had died before I was old enough to remember, Uncle Otto and Aunt Belle were as grandparents to my sister Lynne Louise (Waterman) Breitweiser and me. He had run for the public office of DeKalb County, Indiana, Recorder in 1952 as a Democrat in a Republican county in a Republican [Eisenhower] year, and he won. He was respected by all in his small community, a person of good character, a soft-spoken gentleman.

He often stated with pride that he had never joined any

organization. This was in a small Indiana town where joining a church, a Masonic lodge, and other groups was the accepted fashion. He and my Dad were strong Democrats.

It was during the 1954 visit that Uncle Otto, having

ascertained my interest in history on prior occasions, handed me, in the presence of my Dad, a dark, rose-colored, tin box, 9.5" long x 5.5" wide x 6.5" high, with faded floral decorations on the outside. Inside I discovered a trove of folded letters, newspapers, deeds, mortgages, and other papers; many had a brown, dirty tint, due to aging. They were stale-smelling, and crammed into the small tin box. I was delighted when Uncle Otto said the letters were now mine to read and for safekeeping.

In 1964, my Uncle Lloyd D. Harrison [10] wrote me enclosing

more papers relating to the Waterman family. He said:

> In going through some of Aunt Ruth's
>
> [Ruth Waterman Harrison] treasures, & I found
>
> some papers which I thought would be of

interest to you and the folks and which I am

enclosing. These came from your Dad's home

so you folks should have them.

These papers from Uncle Lloyd were added to the tin box collection.

Uncle Lloyd had encouraged me in my endeavors, and had

invited me to Seattle where he introduced me to his associates, all designed to acquaint me with various avocations. He was always genuinely interested in my undertakings.

Uncle Otto had pulled the tin box from a large, upright,

wooden desk which he said originally belonged to his grandfather, Miles Waterman [8]. I had noticed it on prior visits, and was told the desk had originally belonged to Miles Waterman. Years later, after the death of Uncle Otto and Aunt Belle, I received the desk as a gift.

The top part of the desk consisting of bookshelves in a

glass-front cabinet was in the possession of my aunt, Mabel Susan [Waterman] [Hammond] Lautzenhizer [10], and was later given to me by her daughter, Lucile [Hammond] Cather [10], upon the death of Aunt Mabel. The desk is a treasured item, and I am grateful to those who were instrumental in causing it to remain intact and to give it to me.

To this day the descendants of Mabel Susan [Waterman]

[Hammond] Lautzenhizer farm the farm started and cleared by Elijah Waterman and Miles Waterman beginning in 1837.

Seversl years ago while touring a Gettysburg, Pennsylvania,

museum exhibiting personal property of General Ulysses S. Grant, I noticed that one exhibit featured General Grant's desk which was carried from headquarters to headquarters during the war was virtually identical to the lower portion of the desk of Miles Waterman, which was from the same period of time.

Aside from my delight in receiving the tin box full of

papers, my only impression at the time was that the papers were old and related to the Waterman family. It would be more than thirty years later before I realized the significance and magnitude of the contents of the tin box. It had contained about 170 letters and other documents. It is difficult to imagine how so many papers had been stored in the tin box.

My initial discovery in the tin box was small. Uncle Otto

identified two letters from Civil War soldier Frederick C. Waterman [9] written by him from the East during the war to Fred's grandfather, Elijah Waterman [8], and his uncle, Miles Waterman. In about 1960, I took an introductory college course on Civil War history. In the summer of 1962, after my first year of

law school, I worked as a law clerk for the General Services Administration in the National Archives building in Washington, D.C. During that summer, I toured Civil War battlefields in Virginia. I also had an opportunity to review records in the National Archives, where I searched the military service records of Frederick C. Waterman [10] during the Civil War. Even then, my knowledge of the papers in the tin box continued to be minimal.

At the National Archives, about five other law clerks and

myself reviewed files relating to federally-owned real estate in each state. You can imagine how exciting this was! I had been assigned New York and Indiana, along with other states, to review the federal land records in those states. Our purpose was to compile a summary of the jurisdictional status of the various properties under the latter part of Section 8[17.], Article 1, of the Constitution of the United States of America, which reads:

> [The congress shall have the power] . .
>
> To exercise exclusive legislation in all
>
> cases whatsoever, over such district (not
>
> exceeding ten miles square) as may, by
>
> cession of particular states, and the
>
> acceptance of congress, become the seat of
>
> government of the United States, and to
>
> exercise like authority over all places
>
> purchased by the consent of the legislature
>
> of the state in which the same shall be for
>
> the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals,
>
> dockyards, and other needful buildings; . . .

In reviewing these files to categorize the federal land holdings as either having exclusive federal jurisdiction, exclusive state jurisdiction, concurrent jurisdiction, or composite jurisdiction, I became impressed with the frequency with which the names of towns and places in northeast Indiana appeared in New York State. Later I realized the similarity was particularly concentrated along the Erie Canal route in New York and in the northern two tiers of counties in Indiana.

Beginning that summer, and continuing again in 1965, when I

was in the service, I spent a few of my weekends in Washington researching the family genealogy in the Library of Congress, but with little progress.

As I had initially perused the letters in the tin box, I ran

across a small two-page note in the collection written in 1896 by Miles Jefferson Waterman [10] listing his ancestry as he knew it. The note listed Calvin Waterman as his most remotely known ancestor. The note also referred to Calvin's Revolutionary War service. I found the note interesting since I had never heard

anyone who had ever spoken of any ancestor more remote than my great grandfather, Miles Waterman.

I went to the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C., in

the summer of 1962. I also searched the Michigan State Library in Lansing when I was home on occasion with my parents in East Lansing in about 1963. There I found the three-volume set of The Waterman Family compiled by Donald Lines Jacobus. The first two volumes dealt with the descendants of Robert Waterman. Even more exciting was the discovery of my father's name on page 424 of the second volume. Information on the Watermans in northeastern Indiana had been compiled and provided to the genealogist in 1933. Jacobus was a professional genealogist who became known as the dean of genealogists. The information in the first two volumes confirmed the genealogical data in the 1896 note of Miles Jefferson Waterman.

In about 1986, I proceeded to unfold and store the letters

from the tin box and to lay them flat in paper file folders. In the fall of 1986, I began to make copies of these papers, reading the letters as I arranged them in chronological order according to the author. Due to the old writing style, I initially experienced difficulty reading them, but after reading several of the letters, I began to understand the writing style. In the mid-1800s, stationary came in all sorts, sizes, and shades of color. Many of the documents in the collection are larger than 8 1/2 inches by 14 inches, which presented a problem storing flat without folding.

Several years ago, the Collection was copied by the Indiana

State Library in Indianapolis.

I gradually realized that these papers covered in surprising

breadth the mid-1800s migration of our ancestors from New York State to their settlement in Indiana. These papers seemed to

supply further information where the genealogical works of Jacobus had begun to suffer.

The bulk of these documents covered a period of time from

1837, the year of the migration of the Elijah Waterman family from New York State to northeastern Indiana, through the late 1860s following the American Civil War, although there are a few isolated documents both before and after this period.

The oldest document in the collection is a newspaper, the

Ulster County Gazette of Kingston, New York, dated January 4, 1800, reporting the death on December 14, 1799, of George Washington, and his funeral. This document came with the papers from Aunt Ruth [Waterman] Harrison [10]. It is likely that this newspaper was delivered up the Hudson River to Ebenezer, Jr., or Calvin, and retained due to its historic report. Other early documents include a note signed by a military physician between

1818 and 1821 excusing Elijah from military service due to "bodily infirmities," and an 1814 deed from Calvin Waterman to Elijah Waterman.

I refer to the collection as the Miles Waterman Manuscript

Collection, abbreviated as "Waterman MSS." Miles appears to have been the principal one who assembled the main body of the papers, or was the person for whom the papers were assembled.

In the fall of 1986, I also began researching genealogical

sources in the Allen County Public Library in Fort Wayne, Indiana. I have found the Allen County Public Library to be not only convenient, but to have a large genealogical collection. It is recognized as a national resource for genealogical data.

In writing my story, there have been many exciting

discoveries. These include the discovery of Robert Waterman's residence located at the "old" rather than at the present day mouth of the North River in Marshfield, the cemetery at Norwich, the extent that waterways were so important in early America for transportation and communication, the name of Calvin Waterman on the list of prisoners on the notorious British Prison Ship "Jersey," the military record of Elijah during the War of 1812, the close proximity of the Erie Canal to the residences of Calvin Waterman and Elijah Waterman in New York State, the remarkable Civil War military record of Frederick C. Waterman and his survival, and the intelligence and dominating personality of Miles as is especially evident in his later writings and speeches.

Although we may recur to the past to discover the experience

of those whose lives may still be influencing our own, the direction we are rowing is the course on which to concentrate.

And so imitate the waterman whiche lookethe

one waye, and roweth another.

Melbancke [English], Philotimus, 1583.

# APPENDIX B

## The Name Waterman

But airy are these three, the Scales, the
Waterman, the Twinnes.

B. Googe, 1565.[2]

The Oxford Dictionary of Current English defines the word "waterman' as a "boatman plying for hire; oarsman as regards skill in keeping boat balanced."
During the 1500s, several thousand men earned a living on the River Thames in England. Parliament in 1514 passed laws regulating fares on the river and established a one-year apprenticeship program for boys, which was extended to seven years in 1603. By the 1700s, the "Watermen's Company," a guild of passenger carriers, was joined by "lightermen," or goods carriers. To this day, "The Company of Watermen and Lightermen of the River Thames" enrolls apprentices who, after serving as apprentices for a period of time, and if found worthy, become Freemen of the Company. Today, many of the Company's activities are ceremonial. For official functions, the Queen and other members of the Royal Family are brought down the River Thames

from Windsor to Parliament by "her watermen" who are in full ceremonial uniform. Each year the young Freeman of the Company participate in a five-mile sculling race on the Thames from London Bridge to Chelsea.

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[2] B. Goode tr. Palingenius' Zodiac, 1565, xi. QQj. Quoted from The Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. 1989. XIX:1001.

The ceremonial uniform of a waterman is scarlet and is similar to the uniform of other British guardsmen, such as those who guard the Tower of London. The officers wear the Queen's monogram, ER , on the escutcheon of their jacket. What distinguishes their uniform is the cap of the waterman which resembles that of an American baseball cap, the bill up. Watermen's Hall is located in London at 16, St Mary-at-

Hill, near the Lower Thames Street on the north side of the Thames and about five blocks east of London Bridge. The person in charge of the Hall is referred to as "The Beadle."[3] The occupation of those who plied the rivers of England in

the middle ages carrying passengers is the likely source of the surname Waterman. The process of using family names or surnames was completed by the 1550s.[4] Following the Reformation, it became a Protestant custom of giving children names of famous persons from the Old Testament as first, or forenames.[5] The parents of Ebenezer Waterman, Sr., and Ebenezer Waterman, Jr., and Elijah Waterman were in this tradition. Calvin Waterman and Luther Waterman, Calvin's brother, were named after Protestant Reformation theologians. Certain Puritan names, such as Charity,

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[3] The Company of Watermen and Lightermen of The River Thames. Pamphlet. Watermen's Hall, September 1978; The Hall of The Company of Watermen and Lightermen of The River Thames.

Pamphlet. The Watermen's Company, ca. 1991. While Robert Waterman was living in Marshfield, Plymouth Colony, one Joseph Beadle was his close neighbor.

[4] "Names," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th edition. Chicago, Illinois, 1977. 12:816, 818.

[5] Ibid., 12:818.

Fear Waterman (1758-1823), Freelove Waterman (1729-1780), Mercy Waterman (1763-1834), Patience Waterman (1743- ? ), Prudence Waterman, and Silence Waterman have "left no trace of their ephemeral existence."[6] In the United States today, the practice is to insert a middle name, frequently expressed by writing only the initial letter.[7]

The Oxford English Dictionary defines "waterman" as "A seaman, mariner", "A man working on a boat or among boats, esp. a boatman (as the licensed wherry-man of London) who plies for hire on a river, etc.", and "A man employed in the supply or distribution of water; e.g. a water-carrier, a turncock or fireman, a man engaged in the irrigation of water-meadows, or in pumping." It is also described as "An imaginary being living in or under water, a water-demon, a merman", "One who uses water instead of wine in the Eucharist", and "A water-colour artist". The surname Wassermann originated in Germany. Many persons who bore this name migrated to America, and some anglicized or changed their surname to Waterman. In Germany, a "wassermann' delivered water on horse-drawn carts or small wagons from town-to-town where an abundant water supply was not available. It was considered a menial task.[8]

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[6] Ibid. 12:818.

[7] Ibid., 12:815.

[8] I am grateful to Joseph Levine, former President of the Indiana Jewish Historical Society, for his memories related to me in 1992 of the name "Wassermann" in Germany and the occupation from which it was derived.

The word Aquarius in Latin translates to Waterman in English, and vice versa. "The II. [constellation] is Aquarius, the Waterman, which hath 42. starres."[9]

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[9] T. Hood. Use Celestial Globe. 1590. Page 35b. Quoted from The Oxford English Dictionary.

# APPENDIX C

Chronological Summary of the American Civil War Military Service Record of FREDERICK C. WATERMAN from the National Archives, Washington, D. C., with Historical Notes and Other Commentary.

Date Name Appears On Rank Remarks

1861

Our Military Company is to have there first Anniversary party on the 22nd of February [1861] Washingtons Birth Day when all the Members of the Company is to Dance in there Uniforms, tell Myles & James & Lewis that I have my musket and uniform at home all brightend up ready to go to South Carolina. . . .[10]

[April 15 President Abraham Lincoln's first call for volunteers.]

[COMPANY A, SECOND REGIMENT, WISCONSIN INFANTRY]

April 19 Joined for duty at Fox Lake,

Wisconsin, for 3
years[11]

---

[10] Letter dated January 27, 1861, from Frederick C. Waterman, Fox Lake, Wisconsin, to his grandfather Elijah Waterman in Indiana.

[11] Chronological excerpts from the records of the Civil War Military Service Record of Frederick C. Waterman at the National Archives, Washington, D. C., are shown in normal type.

June 11 Organized at Madison, Wisconsin, and mustered in.[12]

June 11 Company Muster-In Roll Corp Present. Camp of Capt Stevens' Co, Randall, Madison, 2nd Reg't, Wisconsin Wisconsin Infantry. [This organization subsequently became Co. A, 2nd Reg't, Wisconsin Infantry.]

June 20-25 Moved to Washington, D.C.

July 16-21 Advanced on Manassas, Virginia.

July 17 Occupied Fairfax Court House.

July 18 Action at Blackburn's Ford.

July 21 First Battle of Bull Run ends in a rout of Union forces.*[13]

> Fred had a Great time at Bulls Runn and I guess he run as fast as Any of them I guess Not as soon as some of the officers.[14]

> On duty at Fort Corcoran, Defenses of Washington, D.C., until August 27.

August 31 Company Muster Roll Corp

> Encamped at Meridian Hill and on duty at Fort Tillinghast until March 1862.

September 25 Reconnaissance to Lewinsville, Virginia.

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[12] Historical notes, which appear in boldface type, are from: Frederick Henry Dyer. A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion. The Dyer Publishing Company, Des Moines, Iowa, 1908 [Reprinted 1959]. The historical notes refer to places, action, and movement with respect to each of Fred's military units in which he participated during the course of the war.

[13] An asterisk [*] refers to a reference in History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 778, which tends to substantiate Fred's participation in a battle or other action.

[14] Letter dated March 9, 1862, from Othniel Waterman, Fox Lake, Wisconsin, to his brother Miles Waterman in Indiana.

October 10 Pvt Reduced to the
ranks

October 31 Company Muster Roll Pvt

December 31 Company Muster Roll Pvt

1862

January 1 Corp Appointed by Regt
Order No. 1 to
fill a vacancy

Jan-Feb Company Muster Roll Corp

Mar-Apr Company Muster Roll Corp

March 10-16 Advanced on Manassas.

March 18-
April 23 Advanced to Falmouth.

April 1 Woodstock.

May-Jun Company Muster Roll Corp Present

May 25-29 McDowell's advance on Richmond.

June 2-11 Operations against Jackson.

July 24-26 Reconnaissance to Orange Court House.

Jul-Aug Company Muster Roll Corp Absent. Sick in
Washington City

Jul-Aug Hospital Muster Roll Corp
of Steuart's Mansion
U.S.A. General
Hospital, Baltimore,
Maryland

[In the middle or last part of August, 1862,] while on March to Culpeper Va he was taken sick. [from] over exertion on long and rapid Marches to the relief of the Army under

General Pope at Slaughter Mountain Va.

[About August 15, 1862,] he became sick with fever, & for treatment therefor he was sent to Assention [Ascension] Church hospital

on 8th St Washington D.C. for about one
month, & from there to Stewart's Mansion
hospital Baltimore Md for about two weeks
thence to Soldier on N Cap St Washington D.C.
for about one month & then for duty at Md
about October 1862.

[Official records reveal that Fred,] was

in Ascension G.H., Washington, D.C. Augt 21,

'62, and Aug. 26 & 28, '62, . . .

Admitted to Stewart's Mansion G.H. Baltimore,

Md., August 31, '62[15]

August 5-8 Expedition to Frederick's Hall Station and
Spottsylvania Court House.

August 16-
September 2 Thornburg's Mills or Massapona Church.

August 21-23 Fords of the Rappahannock.

August 21 Catlett's Station.

August 28 Gainesville.*

August 29 Battles of Groveton.

August 30 Second Battle of Bull Run ends in a Union rout.

Sep-Oct Company Muster Roll Corp Present

September 1 Chantilly [Reserve].

September 6-22 Maryland Campaign.

Battles of South Mountain September

14 and Antietam September 6-17.

At Sharpsburg until October 30.

Nov-Dec Company Muster Roll Corp Present

October 30-
November 22 Advanced to Falmouth.

December 12-15 Battle of Fredericksburg.*

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[15] The foregoing references to Fred's sickness and care are from the pension records of Frederick C. Waterman on file at the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

December 23 Arrived at Belle Plain for winter camp.

1863

[January 1 Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation.]

Jan-Feb Company Muster Roll Corp Present

January 20-24 "Mud March."

At Belle Plain until April 27.

February 12-19 Expedition on the steamer "Alice Price" down the Potomac River from Belle Plain to the Coan River, Heathsville, Nomini Bay, and the Mattox River.[16]

we did not go till the next Thursday afternoon
at 1 o'clock, when we went down to the
Landing at Potomac Creek, that is 10 miles
from Aquia Creek Landing, & our Rg't, with
the 6th Wis. Rg't, got on board the Steamer
"Alice Price" & then we were very comfortably
ensconced in the boat off we started down the
Potomac, a part of the 1,000 of the best men
that was in th 1st Corps de Armee

and we stacked arms up in the town &
proceeded to eat very quietly of the Ham,
Eggs & Oysters & good Hoecake that was for
the "Noble" confederates,

& they had orders to capture everything that would

benefit the Rebs, . . .

& we started off with all of the best Horses & mules that we could put on board the steamer & we had captured 60 close to the Landing Horses & mules & 14,000 thousand lbs. of Hams & Bacon & two Bales of Cotton & one case of Boots, & 70 or 80 contrabands, & the steamer was so loaded down that the first day we started out there water came in the Port-holes than could be pumped out & we had to run up in a cove

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[16] Alan T. Nolan. The Iron Brigade, A Military History. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1961, pp. 203-205.

on the Maryland shore & anchor until the wind went down, . . .[17]

Mar-Apr Company Muster Roll Corp Present

. . .we Just lernt that he had a sevre fit of sickness last summer and that he was Crazy for three or four days he never said a word about it to us only in his last letter.[18]

March 25-29 Expedition from Belle Plain into Westmoreland County.

April 10 Special Muster Roll Corp Present

April 27-
May 6 Chancellorsville Campaign.

April 29-
May 2 Operations at Pollock's Creek.

April 29-30 Fitzhugh's Crossing.

May-Jun Company Muster Roll Corp Present

[May 2 "Stonewall" Jackson accidentally shot by his own men.]

May 2-5 Battle of Chancellorsville.*

. . .our Rg't. has been in 11 battles besides the last fight that we had at Chancellor[s]ville, when our Brigade the (Iron Brigade) composed of the 2d 6th & 7th Wis. Rg't's & 19th Ind. Vols) crossed on the Left of the Army (below Fredericksburg) & drove the Rebels out of Earthworks on the

bank & captured 267 prisoners & the[n]

recrossed & marched to the United States Ford

& went to the extreme right, . . .

May 20-26 Operations on Northern Neck.

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[17] Letter dated February 16, 1863, from Frederick C. Waterman, "Belle Plain" Landing, Virginia, to his grandfather Elijah Waterman in Indiana.

[18] Letter dated March 1, 1863, from Othniel Waterman at Fox Lake, Wisconsin, to his father, Elijah Waterman, in Indiana.

we have just returned from an expedition down on the Northern Neck, as it is called a strip of land that lies between the Potomac & the Pappahannock, . . .

. . .we had to march like the Dickens, . . .

we halted & in a little while in they came, they came, they had about 1,000 Darkies male & females, some on horse back & others riding in wagons that they had captured, & they were a jolly set, the smartest set of negroes that I have seen, . . .

our boy's traded coffee & sugar, Pipe, & jack knives, & Papers, one of the boy of Co. swam across & had a quite a chat with the Lieut & Maj in command of their Pickets, . . .

our Boys bothers them about their shooting Jackson, they say that he was not much of a General, but they don't say much about it only when our boys taunts them about it, . . .[19]

June 9 Brandy Station and Beverly Ford.

June 14-
July 24 Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Campaign.

Jul-Aug Company Muster Roll Corp Present

July 1-3 Battle of Gettysburg.*

> . . . on the first day of the battle of Gettysburg, [Fred] was taken prisoner, but was paroled by [Confederate Major] General Jubal A. Early the same evening. However, instead of being allowed to report immediately to parole camp, he was required to assist in taking care of the wounded. He rejoined his regiment at Bristow's [Bristoe's] Station, a few days later.[20]

July 5-24 Pursued Lee to Manassas Gap, Virginia.

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[19] Letter dated May 30, 1863, from Fred at "Bell Plain," Virginia, to his Uncle Miles Waterman in Indiana.

[20] Quoted from History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 778.

On duty on line of the Rappahannock

and Rapidan until October.

July Returns Absent on detached
service Hospital
Department

Sep-Oct Company Muster Roll Corp Present

October 9-22 Bristoe Campaign.

October 19 Haymarket 19.

Nov-Dec Company Muster Roll Corp Present

November 19 Advanced to the line of the Rappahannock.

November 26-
December 2 Mine Run Campaign.

November 19 Lincoln delivers Gettysburg Address.

1864

Jan-Feb Company Muster Roll Corp Present. Promoted
from Private

January 25 Discharged to
re-enlist as
Veteran
Volunteer

February 25 Enlistment Paper Culpeper,
Virginia, re-
enlisted for
3 years

February 26 Detachment Muster-Out Culpeper,
Roll Virginia

February 27 M. and D. Roll of
Veteran Volunteers

Mar-Apr Company Muster Roll Corp Present

March 16 Returns Absent with
leave, Veteran
Volunteer, 35 days
from March 16

130

[COMPANY A, INDEPENDENT BATTALION,

SECOND REGIMENT, WISCONSIN INFANTRY]

May-Jun Company Muster Roll Corp
of Co. A, Ind[ependent]
Battalion [This company
was formed from companies
of 2nd Reg't Wisconsin
Infantry who were not
entitled to be mustered
out.]

May 3-
June 15 Campaign from the Rapidan to the James River.

May 4 General U. S. Grant crosses the Rapidan River to attack General Robert E. Lee.

May 5-7 Battles of the Wilderness.*

May 8 Laurel Hill.

May 8-12 Spottsylvania.

May 11 Detached from Brigade assigned to duty as Provost Guard, 4th Division, 5th Army Corps.

May 12-21 Spottsylvania Court House.

May 12 Assault on the Salient.

May 23-26 North Anna River.*

May 26-28 On the line of the Pamunkey.

May 28-31 Totopotomoy Creek.

June 11-12 Cold Harbor.*

June 11 Non-Veterans ordered to Madison, Wisconsin, and there mustered out July 2.

June Returns Corp On guard at 4th
Division
Hospital

June 10 Transferred to Co
A, Independent

131

Battalion, 2d
Wisconsin

Infantry, in the field

June 30 Madison, Wisconsin Reenlisted as Vet
Vol Feb 25/1864.
Trans to 1st

Ind[ependent]
Batt. Wis. Vol Inf by order of
Maj Gen Warren
Pro. to Corporal

Veterans and Recruits consolidated

to a Battalion of two companies and

assigned to duty as Provost Guard

at Headquarters, 4th Division, 5th

Army Corps, until September.

June 16-18 Before Petersburg.

June 16-
November 30 Siege of Petersburg June 18-November 30.*

. . . [Fred] was forty-two days in the

trenches before Petersburg; . . .[21]

Jul-Aug Company Muster Roll Corp Present

Weldon Railroad August 18-21.

Sep Returns Sgt On special duty
as acting

Commissary Sergeant for
Battalion

Sep-Oct Company Muster Roll Sgt Promoted to Commissary Sgt

September 2 General W. T. Sherman occupies Atlanta.

Sep-Oct Detachment Muster Roll Sgt In the field, Virginia. Present.

October 27-28 Boydton Plank Road, Hatcher's Run.

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[21] Quoted from History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 778.

[COMPANY G, SIXTH REGIMENT, WISCONSIN INFANTRY]

Nov-Dec Company Muster Roll Pvt
of Co. G, 6th
Reg't Wis. Inf.

November 30 Battalion consolidated with 6th Wisconsin Infantry as Companies G and H.

November 30 M. and D. Roll of Men Present.
Transferred from Co. A,
Independent Battalion,
2nd Reg't Wis. Inf.
to Co. G, 6th Reg't
Wis. Inf.

November 30 Returns Petersburg,
Virginia

1865

Jan-Feb Company Muster Roll Sgt

Mar-Apr Company Muster Roll Sgt

March 28-
April 9 Appomattox Campaign.
March 29 Lewis Farm, near Gravelly Run.

March 30-31 Boydton and White Oak Roads.

April 1 Five Forks.*

April 2 Fall of Petersburg.

April 3-9 Pursued Lee.

April 9 Lee surrenders the Army of Northern Virginia to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia.*[22]

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[22] The references listed in the brief biographical sketch in History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 778, tend to substantiate Fred's participation in certain of the major battles

of the war. It is clear from Fred's Military Service Record set out herein and from his letters of February 16, 1863, and May 30, 1863, that he also participated in more battles and actions than were listed in History of De Kalb County, Indiana.

May-Jun Company Muster Roll Sgt

May March to Washington, D. C.

May 23 Grand Review in Washington, D. C.

July 14 Company Muster-Out Roll Sgt Jeffersonville, Indiana.

July 14 Mustered out at Jeffersonville, Indiana.

July 16 Welcomed publicly at Madison, Wisconsin, before being dismissed with the Sixth Wisconsin.

# NOTES

## I. ENGLAND AND THE ATLANTIC CROSSING

1. The Oxford English Dictionary, 2d edition. Translated by the author as "In a weighty manner on the gunwale (the upper edge
of a ship's side, also gunnel) they weigh up their anchors, By the wit (knowledge, skill) of the watermen of the waves of the sea (sea waves)."
2. Donald Lines Jacobus. Descendants of Robert Waterman of Marshfield, Massachusetts, Through Seven Generations, 1:15-19.
3. The Company of Watermen and Lightermen of The River Thames. Pamphlet. Watermen's Hall, September 1978. The Hall of The Company of Watermen and Lightermen of The River Thames. Pamphlet.
   The Watermen's Company, ca. 1991. "Names," Encyclopaedia Britannica. 15th edition. Chicago, Illinois, 1977, 12:816, 818.
   Jacobus, 1:6-7.
   See also Appendix B.

## II. PLYMOUTH COLONY AND THE ENGLISH PURITAN

1. Quoted in Jacobus, 1:15.
2. Miller, Perry, and Johnson, Thomas H., The Puritans, pp. 5-7.
3. Miller and Johnson, pp. 7-9.
4. Miller and Johnson, p. 10.
5. The numbers in brackets, [ ], following the proper names of persons, such as "Robert Waterman [1]," refer to the sequential number of the generation of the Robert Waterman family in America. In this case, Robert was the first generation of the Robert Waterman family in America. The numbering of generations follows that used in the Jacobus work.
   Brackets are also used to indicate written material inserted by the author into a quote or writings of other persons.
6. Jacobus, 1:6-7.
7. See ancestry of The Bourne Family. Jacobus, Appendix, 1:615-24, Appendix I.
8. Jacobus, 1:15.

9. Jacobus, 1:15. Historic Marshfield 1640, p. 2.
10. Jacobus, 1:6-9.
11. Jacobus, 1:19.
12. Present-day Marshfield is not a densely populated urban area, but appears as a rustic, wooded setting with homes clustered here and there, while others are set apart.
13. Historic Marshfield 1640, p. 3.
The First Church in Marshfield was probably the only one in the Old Colony that did not divide at the time of the Great Schism of the early 1800s over unitarianism or trinitarianism. Historic Marshfield 1640, map site 14.
14. Historic Marshfield 1640, p. 3.
15. Historic Marshfield 1640, map site 14.
16. Historic Marshfield 1640, map site 13.
17. Marcia Thomas, "Marshfield's first historian," quoted in Historic Marshfield 1640, p. 7.
18. Historic Marshfield 1640, map site 3.
Daniel Webster, the famous statesman, was a resident of Marshfield from 1832 to his death in 1852. He is buried in the Winslow Cemetery.
19. Historic Marshfield 1640, p. 2.
20. Historic Marshfield 1640, map.
Near the center of and within the west town line of Marshfield is located the land granted to John Alden and Myles Standish in 1638.
21. N. B. Shurtleff. Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, quoted from Jacobus, 1:18.
22. The "old mouth" of the North River is located at Map Site 12 in the pamphlet, Historic Marshfield 1640.
In 1898, a severe storm closed the old mouth, and a "new mouth" was cut through the strand about three miles north at the
northeast corner of Marshfield.
23. Historic Marshfield 1640, map site 12.
24. Jacobus, 1:17-18.

25. A letter written by Edward Winslow to John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay Colony, dated Plymouth [7 July 1640], quoted from Jacobus, 1:15.
John Winthrop in 1629, while still in England, was elected the first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony. He came to the New World in 1630 leading the first large contingent of Puritans.
26. Jacobus, 1:20.
27. Historic Marshfield 1640, p. 5.
28. Historic Marshfield 1640, map.
29. Jacobus, 1:15.
30. Historic Marshfield 1640, p. 3.
31. Daniel J. Boorstin. The Americans: The Colonial Experience, pp. 159-161.
32. Boorstin, pp. 348-349.

III. MILITARY MEN AND FARMERS IN COLONIAL CONNECTICUT

1. Quoted in Boorstin, p. 262.
2. Jacobus, 1:21-28.
3. In Connecticut, the Thames River is pronounced to rhyme with "thick" and "James."
4. D. W. Meinig. The Shaping of America, Volume 1, Atlantic America 1492-1800, p. 92.
5. Caulkins, pp. 61-62.
6. See The Thomas Tracy Family. Jacobus, Appendix I, 1:691-
7.
8. Frances Manwaring Caulkins, History of Norwich, Connecticut, pp. 206-208.
9. Caulkins, pp. 57-58.
10. Caulkins, pp. 62, 134-135.
11. Mary E. Perkins. Old Houses of the Ancient Town of Norwich 1660-1800, p. 395.
12. Caulkins, pp. 62, 63, 99, & 274.

12. Perkins, p. 395. Connecticut Place Names, p. 429.
13. Quoted in Perkins from Norwich town records, pp. 395-396.
14. Marian K. O'Keefe and Catherine Smith Doroshevich. Historic Norwich Homes & Families, end paper.
15. A "steady evolution of the language" would result in the names "meeting house," "meeting-house," and "meetinghouse." Strunk and White, p. 35.
16. O'Keefe and Doroshevich, end paper.
17. O'Keefe and Doroshevich, p. 15.
18. Willard Sterne Randall. Benedict Arnold, Patriot and Traitor, p. 19.
19. O'Keefe and Doroshevich, p. 105.
20. Caulkins, pp. 63, 65.
21. Caulkins, p. 206. Perkins, p. 357. The structure to the left of the 1801 Meeting House in the photograph in Perkins at page 357 sets on the original Waterman town-lot.
22. Caulkins, p. 95.
23. Caulkins, p. 258.
24. Caulkins, p. 214.
25. An "ordinary" is a tavern or eating house where regular meals are served. A meal was served to all comers at a fixed price.
26. Caulkins, p. 100. A "House of Entertainment" was a place or house where persons were entertained in the sense of being received as guests. An early variant of the spelling of the word
was "entertayneing." Caulkins, pp. 272-273.
A scrivener's error in O'Keefe and Doroshevich, page 2, erroneously refers to "Simon (sic) Waterman" as the first innkeeper appointed on December 11, 1679. In about 1690, Deacon Simon Huntington succeeded Thomas Waterman as innkeeper. In 1700, Thomas Leffingwell received license to keep a "House of Entertainment," a restoration of which is extant in Norwich.
27. O'Keefe and Doroshevich, p. 103. The Waterman town-lot is located at 100 Town Street on the south corner at the intersection of Town Street and West Town Street.

28. Observed by the author on a short visit to Norwich in 1968 and again in 1984. The sign is similar in appearance to the picture of the sign bearing the text, "Home Lot 1659, Thomas Tracy," which appears in Historic Norwich Homes & Families on page 31.
29. Randall, p. 23. The "Indian menace" haunted the frontier during the entire colonial period era. Boorstin, pp. 347-348.
30. Randall, p. 22.
31. Colonial Records of Connecticut, pp. 4-2, 4-19, & 4-21, quoted in Jacobus, 1:24.
32. Caulkins, p. 128-130. Jacobus, 1:40.
33. O'Keefe and Doroshevich, end paper; p. 28.
34. Diagrammed by the author. Also, a similar diagram appears in Caulkins, p. 206.
35. Jacobus, p. 28.
36. See The Allyn Family. Jacobus, 1:603-606.
37. Jacobus, 1:40.
38. Randall, p. 19.
39. Caulkins, p. 273.
40. Caulkins, p. 451.
41. Jacobus, 1:44.
42. Jacobus, 1:40.
43. The names of the first three children born to Thomas and Elizabeth are named the same and in the same sequence as the first three born to Thomas and Miriam Waterman, the parents of Thomas Waterman, Jr.
44. Jacobus, p. 44.
45. See The Griswold Family. Jacobus, Appendix I, 1:665-669.
46. Jacobus, 1:109. With respect to first names, or forenames, following the Reformation, it was a Protestant custom of giving children names of important persons from the Old Testament. "Names," Encyclopaedia Britannica. Chicago, Illinois, 1977, 12:814-819.

47. Randall, p. 22.
48. Jacobus, 1:112.

## IV. SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1. See Ancestry of Sybil (Clark) Waterman. Jacobus, Appendix I, 1:636-644.
2. Jacobus, 1:112, 158.
3. Jacobus, 1:112.
4. Christopher Hibbert. Redcoats and Rebels: The American Revolution Through British Eyes, p. 14.
5. Jacobus, 1:238-240.
6. Jacobus, 1:486-491.
7. Hibbert, p. 33.
8. Christopher Ward. The War of the Revolution, 1:52.
9. Caulkins, p. 380.
10. Christopher Ward, 1:52-53.
11. Connecticut Men in the Military and Naval Service During the War of the Revolution, The Record of, Johnston, Henry Phelps, editor. p. 19.
12. Connecticut Men, p. 19.
13. Hibbert, p. 37.
14. Connecticut Men, p. 76.
15. Caulkins, p. 381.
16. Caulkins, pp. 53-54. John Durkee was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel during the Revolutionary War. Israel Putnam rose to Major-General.
17. Christopher Ward, 1:99.
18. Caulkins, p. 396.
19. O'Keefe and Doroshevich, p. 1.

20. Caulkins, p. 388. Jacobus, 1:28. Arthur H. Hughes and Morse S. Allen. Connecticut Place Names, p. 431. Waterman's Point is mistakenly located on the east (sic) side of the Thames River in Connecticut Place Names.
21. Connecticut Men, pp. 101-102.
22. Caulkins, p. 391.
23. Connecticut Men, p. 154.
24. Connecticut Men, p. 297.
25. Jacobus, 1:239.
26. Caulkins, p. 389-393.
27. Connecticut Men, pp. 54, 154, & 297.
28. Connecticut Men, p. 100. Caulkins, p. 393.
29. Caulkins, p. 393.
30. Christopher Ward, 1:209.
31. "Coming Battle for New York," Time. 1975 (Special 1776 Issue), vol. 105, no. 20, p. 114.
32. Christopher Ward, 1:209.
33. Henry Phelps Johnston. The Campaign of 1776 Around New York and Brooklyn, pp. 159-171.
34. The reference in Jacobus, 1:486, to Calvin Waterman being reported sick in Hospital at Stamford, Connecticut, following the
Battle of Long Island is a scrivener's error made when copying from Connecticut Men, pp. 102-103. The record in Connecticut Men
clearly reports that Calvin is a prisoner of war at that time. He is not on the list of soldiers referred to as "sick in hospital at Stamford."
35. Ward, p. 227.
36. Danske Dandridge. American Prisoners of the Revolution, pp. 48-54.
37. Dandridge, pp. 48-49.
38. Dandridge, p. 50.
39. Dandridge, pp. 50-51.

40. Dandridge, pp. 52-53.
41. Dandridge, p. 489. "Calvin is named among those confined on Prison Ships, in the list compiled from British War Dept. Records. (British Prison Ship, 1888, p. 60, col. 1)," as quoted in Jacobus, 1:487.
42. Dandridge, pp. 105, 324.
43. Dandridge, p. 447.
44. Jacobus, 1:487.
45. Connecticut Men, p. 129.
46. Connecticut Men, p. 564.

V. CROSSING THE HUDSON RIVER AND WEST

1. Caulkins, p. 593-594.
2. Caulkins, p. 493.
3. Pittsfield is located in the scenic Berkshire Mountains in the far western area of Massachusetts.
4. Nancy Remington was a second cousin to Eliphalet Remingtion, born 1768, who founded the Remington Rifle Works.
5. Jacobus, 1:239, 487. Ebenezer Waterman, Jr., was listed on the 1800 census in Rensselaer County, New York. Calvin bought land on December 20, 1800, in Scipio, Cayuga County, New York.
6. Jacobus, p. 489.
7. W. W. Clayton. History of Onondaga County, New York. pp. 6-
8. Boorstin, pp. 160-161.
9. George E. Condon. Stars in the Water, The Story of the Erie Canal, p. xv.
10. Condon, p. xv.
11. Michael Kernan. "What I would give for a snapshot of him when I was 21!" Smithsonian, Oct. 1990, vol. 21, no. 7, p. 194.
12. Condon, p. 16.

12. Kernan, Smithsonian, p. 194.
13. Condon, p. xv.

VI. NEW YORK SETTLERS

1. Elliot G. Storke. History of Cayuga County, New York, p.
2. Cayuga County and Onondaga County are located in the north-central area of New York State, also known as the "Finger Lake Region."
3. Storke, p. 419. As the quote of Oliver G. Steele recites in the Introduction to this work, the author of this work "may in some instances borrow from erroneous data--books as well as men are fallible; he may, perchance, resort to books that may mislead
him; . . ." Nevertheless and incredible as it may seem, the bear
story is in the history book cited.
4. Jacobus, 1:487.
5. In 1790, the State of New York created a Military Tract to provide land for Revolutionary War veterans and as an effort to populate the west. In 1794, Onondaga County was created from the
western part of Herkimer County and included all of the Military
Tract. In 1799, Cayuga County was detached from the western part
of Onondaga County. The Military Tract was divided into 26 townships, each containing 100 lots and as nearly square as possible. Each lot contained about 600 acres. The territory of the town of Cammillus was coextensive with Township No. 5 of the
Military Tract. Clayton, pp. 7-10, 12.
Onondaga County and Cayuga County are located in the Finger Lakes Region of north-central New York State. Nowadays, the principal city of Onondaga County is Syracuse.
6. Jacobus, 1:488.
7. Jacobus, 1:488.
8. Condon, p. 116.
9. Kernan, Smithsonian, pp. 195-196.
10. Kernan, Smithsonian, p. 195-196.

VII. WAR OF 1812

1. Jacobus, 1:487.

2. Clayton, pp. 9 and 308. Township No. 5 is coextensive with the Town of Camillus.
3. Robert E. Mulligan, Jr., Associate Curator, New York State Museum, Albany, New York, letter dated January 26, 1987.
4. North Battery, now known as Battery Park, is prominently located at the southern tip of Manhattan Island in New York City.
5. Ellis Island, located in Upper New York Bay southwest of Battery Park on the southern tip of Manhattan Island, New York, served as an immigration reception center from 1892 to 1943.
6. Mulligan, letter of January 26, 1987.
7. Military Minutes of the Council of Appointment of the State of New York 1783-1821, Hugh Hastings, compiler & editor. Albany,
   New York, 1902.
8. Mulligan, letter of January 26, 1987.
9. Several of the next five or six generations of the descendants of Elijah Waterman were Methodists.
10. "United Methodist Church." Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th edition. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. Chicago, Illinois, 1977.
    X:267.
11. Niebuhr, pp. 175-176.
12. H. Richard Niebuhr. The Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 170.
13. Meinig, p. 443.
14. Niebuhr, p. 175.
15. Niebuhr, p. 175.
16. The words "long house" allude to the dwelling of the Iroquois Indians who populated northern New York State. Long houses were multifamily dwellings in the northeast. The Iroquois
    in New York roofed theirs with elm bark and extended their houses
    as far as 200 feet to accommodate numerous families. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th edition, V:432, VI:317.
17. Quoted in Jacobus, 1:487.
18. Jacobus, 1:489.

VIII. THE ERIE CANAL AND LAKE ERIE SAILING BOATS

1. Condon, p. 4.
2. Clayton, pp. 4 and 311.
3. Condon, pp. 114, 116-117.
4. Condon, p. 110.
5. Condon p. 112.
6. Condon, p. 113.
7. Condon, p. 114.
8. Condon, pp. 109, 112-114.
9. Condon, p. 110.
10. Donald Lines Jacobus. Descendants of Robert Waterman of Marshfield, Massachusetts, From the Seventh Generation to Date, vol. 2, 2:418.
11. Condon, p. xii.
12. Condon, p. xii.
13. Condon, p. 139.
14. Steele, p. 6.
15. Steele, p. 15-16.
16. Steele, p. 15.
17. Steele, pp. 20-21.
18. Steele, p. 21.
19. Steele, p. 6.
20. "Lima" in the name, Defiance and Lima Road, refers to Lima, Indiana, which is west of Steuben County in north-central LaGrange County. Lima is now known as Howe, Indiana.
21. Alvin F. Harlow. Old Towpaths, The Story of The American Canal Era. D. Appleton and Company, New York, New York, 1926. Page 257.

22. The Miami and Erie Canal was planned to follow the Maumee River in a southwesterly direction from Toledo to near Defiance, Ohio, and then south to Dayton and Cincinnati. The Wabash and Erie Canal was to continue on the canal from Defiance along the Maumee River in a southwesterly direction to Fort Wayne, the summit on the canal, and to and down the Wabash River to the Ohio River. Construction on the Wabash and Erie Canal was started in Fort Wayne in 1834 and proceeded slowly westward until it reached the Tippecanoe River at Lafayette in 1841. The canal lost money, and it continued to lose money because the connection in Ohio did not exist. Construction on the Ohio portion of the Wabash and Erie Canal from the Miami and Erie Canal near Defiance to Fort Wayne had begun in 1837, but stopped in May 1938 due to lack of money. Ohio was slow to build the eastern portion of the Wabash and Erie in Ohio fearing loss of revenue down the Miami and Erie Canal. It was not until 1843 that Ohio completed the eastern end of the Wabash and Erie Canal in Ohio that boats could travel from Toledo to Fort Wayne, and to Lafayette in 1844. In 1849 the canal extended down the Wabash River to Terre Haute, and in 1855 to the Ohio River at Evansville. The Wabash and Erie Canal in Indiana was a colossal financial failure. It was also the longest canal in America when it was completed. Arvin F. Harlow. Old Towpaths, The Story of The American Canal Era, pp. 249-277.

IX. INDIANA PIONEERS

1. Daniel Webster quoted in Historic Marshfield 1640, p. 6.
2. The Library, A Guide to the LDS Family History Library, pp. 222-223.
3. The Library, A Guide to the LDS Family History Library, pp. 222-223.
   In 1848 the Illinois & Michigan Canal, through Chicago and along the Illinois River linking the Great Lakes with the Mississippi River, officially opened.

4. The Library, A Guide to the LDS Family History Library, pp. 222-223.
5. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 636.
6. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 636.
7. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 636.
8. History of Northeast Indiana, I:471.
9. Jacobus, 2:418-419.

10. The Michigan, Chicago, and Illinois were "steamers" with an upper cabin. They were the second class of steamers to sail the Great Lakes, and they proved more seaworthy than the earlier class, which were side-wheelers with a steering wheel at the stern, and had no cabins or staterooms. Archer B. Hulbert. "The Paths of Inland Commerce," chap. I, vol. 21, The Chronicles of America. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, nd.
11. S. P., or Sydney P., Gambia is Mary Waterman's father. He is buried in the Hamilton, Indiana, cemetery.
12. Diagrammed in the Hamilton Cemetery at Hamilton, Indiana, by the author in the early fall of 1991 as the mid-day sunbeams cast
their first light across the face of each gravestone illuminating
parts of the engravings otherwise illegible.
Subsequent generations, including Miles Waterman and Susan [Beard] Waterman [8], Miles Jefferson Waterman and Adaline E. [Leas] Waterman [9], and Jefferson Wayne Waterman and Edith Ella
[Edwards] Waterman [10], are buried in the Hamilton Cemetery.
13. Jacobus, 2:418-419.
14. History of Northeast Indiana, I:607.
15. Based upon the writer's recollection as a youth of a conversation with Mabel Susan [Waterman] [Hammond] Lautenzenhizer.
16. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 321.
17. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 321.
18. The Legislative Sentinal, W. H. Drapier & A. E. Drapier, reporters, p. 88. To this day, there are still township assessors, as well as one county assessor in each county, in Indiana.
19. The Legislative Sentinal, pp. 183-184, 192.
20. Prior to the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1913, state legislatures elected United States Senators.
21. The Legislative Sentinal, W. H. Drapier and A. E. Drapier, reporters, p. 74.
22. 1858 Indiana House of Representatives Journal, Special Session, Nov. 20, 1858, p. 406. The Legislative Sentinal, pp. 102-103.
23. Brevier Legislative Reports, Ariel & W. H. Drapier, reporters, Jan. 23, 1859, vol. II, no. 2, p. 17.

24. 1863 Indiana House of Representatives Journal, p. 52.

## X. THE CIVIL WAR POLITICIAN

1. Quoting John L. Heaton in his Story of Vermont. Harlow, p. 123.
2. Condon, p. 148.
3. Peter S. Onuf. "The Creation of Union: The Northwest Ordinance," Michigan Alumnus, Sept./Oct. 1987, pp. 24-33.
4. Condon, p. 148.
5. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 322.
6. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 322.
7. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, pp. 317-322.
8. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 322.
9. Stampp, Kenneth M., Indiana Politics During the Civil War, preface 1948, p. xvii.
10. Stampp, p. xviii.
11. Stampp, p. 9.
12. 1863 Indiana House of Representatives Journal, pp. 30, 40.
13. Stampp, p. 137.
14. Stampp, p. 81.
15. Stampp, p. 9.
16. Lincoln, without established constitutional or legal authority, had proclaimed a blockade, called up troops, declared martial law, advanced money out of the treasury, confiscated property, resorted to summary arrests, and suspended the habeas corpus privilege. On the other hand, newspapers in general continued to enjoy freedom; vicious attacks were made on the Lincoln administration with impunity; and censorship of military plans was minimal. J. G. Randall. The Civil War and Reconstruction, pp. 359-373, 393.
17. 1863 Indiana House of Representatives Journal, pp. 23-26.
18. Stampp, pp. xi-xii.

19. Stampp, pp. 148-149.
20. Ex parte Milligan, 71 U.S. (4 Wallace 2) 281 (1866).

## XI. A CIVIL WAR SOLDIER'S ODYSSEY

1. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 778.
2. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 778.
3. The reference is to Ellen Danks, to whom Fred was married over six years later on May 3, 1867, at Waterloo, Indiana.
4. Geoffrey C. Ward, p. 33.
5. Alan T. Nolan. The Iron Brigade, A Military History, p. 3.
6. Nolan, p. 283.
7. The camp was located near the campus of the University of Wisconsin. The football stadium now located nearby was named Camp Randall Stadium.
8. Nolan, pp. 6-7.
9. Nolan, pp. 8-9.
10. Fred's younger brother, Charles Waterman (9), born May 19, 1844, enlisted when he was seventeen and served in the Civil War.
    Later, he was a conductor on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R.
    R. Jacobus, 2:421.
11. Years later, Fred applied for a disability pension claiming that he was injured during the withdrawal of Union forces from the battlefield at Bull Run. Fred's company commander, Captain William W. Jones, Company A, Second Wisconsin Infantry, gave the
    quoted statement in support of Fred's pension application as the
    of a deposition in 1896, 34 years after the battle had ended. General Irvin McDowell was the commander of the Union forces at the first Battle of Bull Run.
12. From the pension records of Frederick C. Waterman at the National Archives, Washington, D.C. Slaughter Mountain, Virginia, probably refers to Cedar Mountain, Virginia.
13. The word "contrabands" refers to slaves in this context. Nolan, pp. 32-33.

14. The "Cruise" referred to in the letter on the steamer "Alice Price" is substantiated in Nolan, pp. 203-205. The letter also provides details not described in Nolan.
15. Arad Lindsay was Fred's cousin in the family of Sarah Lindsay Waterman, Fred's grandmother.
16. The reference to "his sister" is to Ellen Danks, to whom Fred is married in 1867.
17. Nolan, p. 189, n. 1.
18. Nolan, pp. 223-224, 267-271. Fred refers to "2 years and 9 months men." Initially, the war was not expected to last long. Enlistments were generally for about three years. Then it appeared that the 3-year enlistments of the Union soldiers would
expire at about the same time. Because the war was not going so well for the Union, there was a concern that the soldiers would not re-enlist in sufficient numbers. Much to everyone's surprise, the re-enlistment rate was higher than expected.
19. Fred's brief reference to the Chancellorsville campaign is amplified in Nolan, pp. 210-219. For the Second Wisconsin, the campaign began on April 28, 1863, at Fitzhugh's Crossing on the Rappahannock River. Nolan, p. 210. Nolan refers on page 210 to the "First Corps," of which the Second Wisconsin was a part. He does not refer to the Second Wisconsin until page 214. The Confederates withdrew from the "Earthworks" on May 7. Nolan, p.
20. Nolan reports the number of prisoners taken to be "more than ninety"; Fred says 267 prisoners were captured. Fred's letter tends to confirm that the Second Wisconsin was more involved in "driving the Rebels out of the Earthworks on the bank" than Nolan reports.
Nolan acknowledges that accounts of the exploits of the Second Wisconsin are not as plentiful as those of the other units
of the Iron Brigade due to the Second Wisconsin's high casualty rate.
21. As the war progressed, the Union soldier, who probably did not sense slavery to be wrong, nevertheless appreciated the support of the slaves. Nolan, pp. 32-33.
22. No mention of the capture of the Confederate officer is found in Nolan.
23. The Northern Neck expedition began on May 20 and ended on May 26, 1863. Nolan reports that after 5 1/2 days and more than 100 miles of marching, the units returned.
24. Nolan, p. 220. Nolan also refers to "trading across the river with the Confederates," "picket duty," and exchanging Northern coffee for Southern tobacco.

24. Nolan, pp. 216-217. Thomas J. Jackson, respectfully known by his men as "Stonewall" Jackson, was accidentally shot by his own men. He died at 3:30 p.m., on Sunday, May 13, 1863, after clearly and cheerfully stating: "Let us cross over the river and rest under the shade of the trees."
25. Nolan, p. 256, n. 67.
26. Nolan, pp. 258-259.
27. Nolan, p. 259.
28. Nolan, pp. 268-271.
29. Nolan, p. 275.
30. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 778.
31. Nolan, pp. 381-382, n. 66.
32. Nolan, p. 275.
33. Geoffrey C. Ward, p. 383-384.
34. History of De Kalb County, Indiana, p. 778.
35. Jacobus, 2:419.
36. Jacobus, 2:420.
37. The National Archives, Record Group No. 94, containing portions of the compiled military service record of Frederick C. Waterman, Company A, 2 Wisconsin Infantry, Union Army, Civil War.
Fred's military service record, with his voluminous pension application records, are located in The National Archives in Washington, D.C.
These records were first examined by your author in 1962, as a summer law clerk for the General Services Administration, which managed the archives, and again in 1992.
38. Jacobus, 2:419.
39. Quoted in Nolan, p. 382-383, from Wisconsin Adjutant General, 1865, pp. 725-3.

## XII. OUT IN THE POLITICAL COLD

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th edition, IV:1018.
   Your author is an attorney and partner in the law firm of Baker & Daniels founded by Thomas A. Hendricks.
2. 1863 Indiana House of Representatives Journal, pp. 71-72.
3. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th edition, IV:1018.
4. Adeline Leas [Waterman] was the tenth child born of twelve children to John Leas, Jr., IV, and Susanna Schimpff. On September 22, 1839, John Leas, Jr., IV, who was born July 12, 1816, near Gettysburg, Adams County, Pennsylvania, married September 22, 1839, in Stark County, Ohio, Susanna Schimpff, who
   was born August 17, 1820, in Neustat, Germany, and who had emigrated to America when she was thirteen years of age. John migrated with his parents to Stark County, Ohio, in 1818 and to Guernsey County, Ohio, in 1838. He visited Steuben County, Indiana, for a short time in 1838, returned to Ohio where
   he married, and by 1843 was settled in Indiana on a farm on a small hill on the south side of Turkey Lake about a mile west of
   Hudson, Indiana. In 1868, he moved to a farm north of Waterloo, DeKalb County, Indiana. John was one of the founders and eventual sole owner of the Citizens Bank of Waterloo. He was a member of the Reformed Church and a Mason. Susanna died June 15,
5. He married a widow, Amanda Malory Patterson, of Angola, Steuben County, Indiana, on December 1, 1881. John died June 16,
   1897, survived by Amanda. John and Susanna are buried in the Waterloo, Indiana, Cemetery. Faye W. Leas. Leas Genealogy. Fort Wayne, Indiana, October 17, 1950.
   The Leas Genealogy contains references to the ninth, tenth, and eleventh generations of the Waterman family in northeastern Indiana. In the Leas Genealogy, at page 112, there is a reference to "Adeline, 1860-1931," listing her as the tenth child
   born to John and Susanna. At page 133, she is referred to as "Adeline E., born April 29, 1860. Died April 5, 1931." The middle initial of Adeline does not appear on any of her correspondence or elsewhere. At page 92, the compiler of the genealogy refers to the aunt of Adeline born 1860, as "Adeline, 1841-1919," and may have mistakenly inserted the initial having previously referred to her aunt "Adeline E." at page 108-109 as "Adeline E. Leas was born March 18, 1841, in Stark County, Ohio.

She Married John Albert Yeagy on March 21, 1872. [She] died May 12, 1919, and her husband died January 30, 1924. They are buried at Waterloo."

6. Diagrammed in the Hamilton Cemetery at Hamilton, Indiana, by the author in 1991.



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